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# THE BABYLONIAN EXPEDITION

OF

THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

## SERIES A: CUNEIFORM TEXTS

EDITED BY

H. V. HILPRECHT

VOLUME XXX, PART 1

## SUMERIAN HYMNS AND PRAYERS

TO GOD DUMU-ZI OR

BABYLONIAN LENTEN SONGS

BY

HUGO RADAU

MÜNCHEN

To be obtained through Rudolf Merkel, Erlangen

1913











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**T**HE EDITOR determines the material to constitute a volume,  
but he is not responsible for the views expressed by the writer.

# SUMERIAN HYMNS AND PRAYERS

TO

GOD DUMU-ZI

OR

BABYLONIAN LENTEN SONGS

FROM THE

Temple Library of Nippur

BY

HUGO RADAU

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*Twenty Plates of Autograph Texts and nine Plates  
of Halftone Illustrations*

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MÜNCHEN

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1913

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To  
**Samuel f. Houston, Esq.,**

FORMER PRESIDENT AND CHAIRMAN  
OF THE BABYLONIAN DEPARTMENT, UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

**in grateful remembrance of his most cordial hospitality,  
material help and never failing encouragement  
respectfully inscribed**





## PREFACE.

The so-called Dumuzi or Tamuz texts must be divided into two classes: 1) those in which Ishtar and her maidens bewail the "absent" or "dead" Dumuzi and 2) those which celebrate Dumuzi's resurrection or wedding. Several specimens of the latter class may be found among the tablets of the Nippur Temple Library. One of them is published and translated in the "*Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*", p. 391, no. 2, while its larger duplicate text, C. B. M. 11391, is given in photographic reproduction, *l. c.*, pl. IV, no. 7.

To the former class belong the tablets here published. Though scholars are accustomed to speak of this class of tablets as "Dumuzi texts", such a designation is evidently inadequate. Henceforth they must be described as "Sumerian lenten songs", and this for the simple reason that they formed part of a great temple ritual, which was recited by Ishtar and her maidens during the "month of wailings", *Ululu*. Seeing, furthermore, that at the time of the kings of the II dynasty of Ur and of the I dynasty of Isin, when the bulk of the tablets of Temple Library was written, this month corresponded to our February-March, and that these wailings culminated in a festival of joy, which celebrated the happy "reuniting of Dumuzi and Ishtar", and which was observed at the time of the vernal equinox, it is not at all difficult to see in the Sumerian season of wailing the prototype of our Christian lenten season and in the union of Dumuzi and Ishtar the reuniting of Christ with the *πνεῦμα*, whose sphere of influence is the "Church", the "Bride of the Lamb", and this the more so as Dumuzi himself was, according to Sumerian conception, the "Lamb (*sherba*) of God (*An*)" while Ishtar was his "Bride".

Strange indeed and most remarkable are the parallels between the Sumerian and Christian Lenten and Easter festivals:

Dumuzi goes to the "north" or "netherworld", *i. e.* he "dies", in order to conquer the "enemy from the north", the cold, winter, darkness. Christ dies in order to conquer Satan, the "prince of darkness".

Dumuzi while in the netherworld is "bewailed" by his "Bride" Ishtar, especially during the month February-March (*Ululu*); but this is exactly the season of the Christian lent, during which the church, the "Bride of the Lamb", mourns over the death of her "bridegroom", Christ.

The month *Ululu* is followed immediately by the "month of the festival of Dumuzi" which begins with the vernal equinox and which celebrates, among other things, Dumuzi's marriage with "Mother Earth", the resurrection of nature and the beginning of new life.

The Christian lenten season is terminated by the Easter festival, celebrating at the time of the vernal equinox the resurrection of Christ and the beginning of a new, spiritual life (ζωοποιήθεις δὲ τῷ πνεύματι, I St. Peter, III : 18) of Christ and of his Church, thus demonstrating, corroborating and proving the truthfulness and correctness of the Sumerian resurrection festival, for "if there is no resurrection of the dead, neither hath Christ been raised" or again, "if the dead are not raised, neither hath Christ been raised" (I. Cor. XV: 12 ff.).

The Christian lenten and resurrection festivals are in this wise by no means merely a "rehash" of Babylonian ideas. This would be misunderstanding the divine will as carried out in history. No, no, not a "rehash", but the very culmination and "fulfillment" of the wisdom of ages past are the Christian lenten and resurrection festivals. The "truth" which the Sumerians dimly recognized while still groping in the dark receives by the death and resurrection of Christ its true light, explanation, seal, approval and spiritual significance. Christ and the Christian religion not only *is*, but *must* and, I am sure, *will* be recognized, more and more, to be what we are told it is: the πλήρωμα.

In thus admitting, on the one hand, the exact parallels between the Sumerian and the Christian lent and resurrection, and on the other recognizing in the Christian festivals the πλήρωμα of their predecessors among the Sumerians, we will not stand in any danger of losing our faith — on the contrary, the Christian religion will become for us a living reality, the last link in the long chain of divine revelations uniting us with the past and into a common brotherhood of man, believing the same thing and hoping for the same thing: *our own resurrection*.

Let us, therefore, be true to ourselves and recognize the divine element even in the Sumerian religion, at the same time let us not forget that grand and sublime though the Sumerian religion may be, it is but a faint shadow of the light that shines in Christ. This "declaration of faith" I am constrained to make publicly here in response to several communications and criticisms from certain quarters requesting me to state frankly and honestly my position and *personal belief* with regard to the Sumerian religion in its relation to that of the Christians.

When writing these pages, it was my main desire, within the space (about 60 pages) at my disposal, to show that the so-called Dumuzi-Ishtar myth is not confined to *one* god or goddess, but that each and every "Son" and "Mother" of a given Sumerian trinity was the Dumuzi and Ishtar. This necessitated my pointing out, whenever desirable or possible, the analogies and parallels, the common names, attributes and functions to be found in connection with the various „Sons“ and „Mothers“. In this wise the student will be put, it is hoped, into a position to judge for himself how the Sumerian religion originated and developed, how certain doctrines were transferred from one "Son" of a given trinity to

another, and how, lastly, even the "Westland", Canaan, knew of the Dumuzi-Ishtar myth as early as the time of the kings of the II dynasty of Ur, about 2500 B. C. This observation furnishes also the connecting link between the Sumerian Dumuzi and the Egyptian, Phœnician, Greek and Latin Osiris, Esmun, Adonis, and last, but not least, the Christian doctrine of the death and resurrection of Christ.

Nowhere I felt the absence of detailed special investigations as much as in the Sumerian Dumuzi-Ishtar myth, which lies at the very foundation and without which an accurate understanding of the later Osiris and Adonis myth is evidently impossible. This is especially true with regard to the *time* of the wailings for Dumuzi or the "Sumerian lenten festival". Upon the suggestion of the Editor, Professor H. V. Hilprecht, I made bold to issue my researches on this very moot and greatly disputed question in a special volume of Series D. In doing so, it is my fond hope that this investigation will evoke the liveliest discussion and criticism by all those scholars who take an interest in such matters — be they Oriental, Classical or theological scholars.

It is, of course, well known and need hardly be reiterated here, that these pages would never have seen the light of day, were it not for the continued graciousness and liberality of my benefactress Mrs. Sallie Crozer Hilprecht. To her are due the homage and gratefulness which rightly belongs to a true patroness of the science of Sumeriology. May these pages convince her once more of my lasting, though humble, indebtedness. With special sentiments of gratitude and admiration I think also of the continued help and encouragement given me by Professor H. V. Hilprecht. His are truly heroic deeds and sacrifices for the sake of science. May he see his ambition realized and crowned with that reward which rightly belongs to him and which, I am proud to say, all true scholars wish him. Also to Professor Heinrich Zimmern of Leipzig my sincere gratefulness is due for his kindness in reading the last proofs of this book and in putting at my disposal the advance sheets of his in every respect most admirable "*Sumerische Kultlieder*". I did not know how to show my appreciation of his kindness better than by constantly quoting from his new book.

Happy, extremely happy, I am to be permitted to inscribe this volume to our former President and Chairman of the Babylonian Department of the University of Pennsylvania, Samuel F. Houston, Esq., in grateful remembrance of his most cordial hospitality, material help and never failing encouragement continuously bestowed upon me.

Hugo Radau.

Easter Monday, March 24<sup>th</sup>, 1913.

Philadelphia, Pa.



## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

- A. O. .... *Der Alte Orient*, edited by Hugo Winckler and Alfred Jeremias.
- A. S. K. T. .... Paul Haupt, *Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte*.
- B. A. .... *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, edited by Friedrich Delitzsch and Paul Haupt.
- B. E. .... "The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania", edited by H. V. Hilprecht.
- Bêl, the Christ.. Hugo Radau, "Bêl, the Christ of Ancient Times", Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago, 1908.
- B. G. T. .... Heinrich Zimmern, *Der Babylonische Gott Tamuz*, reprint from vol. XXVII of the *Abhandlungen der Philologisch-Historischen Klasse der Königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, No. XX, Leipzig, 1909.
- Br. .... Rudolph E. Brünnow, "A Classified List of Cuneiform Ideographs".
- B. S. .... Meissner-Rost, *Bauinschriften Sankheribs*.
- C. B. M. .... "Catalogue of the Babylonian Museum" of the University of Pennsylvania, prepared by H. V. Hilprecht.
- Creation-Story.. Hugo Radau. "The Creation-Story of Genesis I, a Sumerian Theogony and Cosmogony", Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago, 1902 (Out of print; a second, greatly enlarged and completely revised edition is in preparation and will appear shortly).
- C. T. .... "Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum."
- E. B. H. .... Hugo Radau, "Early Babylonian History".
- E. N. .... Theophilus G. Pinches, "Enlil and Ninlil" in *P. S. B. A.*, March 1911.
- H. A. V. .... "Hilprecht Anniversary Volume".
- H. W. B. .... Friedrich Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*.
- J. S. .... "Joseph Shemtob Collection" of Babylonian Tablets in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, catalogued by H. V. Hilprecht.
- K. .... "Kuyunjuk Collection".
- K. A. T.<sup>3</sup> .... Eberhard Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*. Third edition by H. Zimmern and H. Winckler.
- K. B. .... *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, edited by Eberhard Schrader.
- Kh. .... "Khabaza Collection" of Babylonian Tablets in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, catalogued by H. V. Hilprecht.
- L. S. S. .... *Leipziger Semitistische Studien*, edited by A. Fischer and H. Zimmern.
- M. .... Bruno Meissner, *Seltene assyrische Ideogramme*.
- Manch. .... Theophilus G. Pinches, "The Hymns to Tammuz in the Manchester Museum, Owens College". Reprint from Vol. 48, Part III., of "Memoirs and Proceedings of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society", Session 1903—1904.
- M. V. A. G. .... *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, edited by H. Winckler.
- N. F. .... François Thurcau-Dangin, *Tablettes et inscriptions diverses provenant des Nouvelles Fouilles de Tello*, (Reprint.)
- O. L. Z. .... *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, edited by F. E. Peiser.
- P. S. B. A. .... "Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology".
- R. .... Sir H. C. Rawlinson, "The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia".
- R. A. .... *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale*, edited by V. Scheil and Fr. Thurcau-Dangin.

- R. H. .... George Reisner, *Sumerisch-Babylonische Hymnen*.  
R. T. .... James Craig, "Religious Texts".  
S. A. K. I. .... Fr. Thureau-Dangin, *Die Sumerischen und Akkadischen Königsinschriften*.  
S. B. P. .... Stephen Langdon, "Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms".  
S. B. T. .... Heinrich Zimmern, *Sumerisch-babylonische Tamūzlieder*, reprint from *Berichte der Philologisch-Historischen Klasse der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*.  
LIX Band. Sitzung vom 13. Juli 1907.  
S. K. .... Heinrich Zimmern, *Sumerische Kultlieder aus altbabylonischer Zeit*, Leipzig, 1912.  
S. L. .... Fritz Hommel, *Sumerische Lesestücke*.  
Z. A. .... *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, edited by C. Bezold.

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## I.

# INTRODUCTION.

There is no myth in any of the known religions which, as regards its importance, can be compared with the so-called Dumuzi-Ninanna myth of the early Sumerians. In it are rooted not only the later conceptions which the Egyptians, Phoenicians, Greeks and Latins entertained with regard to the death and resurrection of their Osiris, Esmun, Adonis, but — and this we may now confidently assert — it forms also *the prototype of our Christian Lenten season and of the death and resurrection of Christ*. It explains why the Lenten season terminates the winter, the time of darkness and death, and why it precedes the Easter festival which celebrates the resurrection of nature and of Christ.

In order to understand, from this point of view, the Dumuzi-Ninanna myth more accurately and thus be put into a position to appreciate its later developments more thoroughly, I shall try to give here *in mere outlines* its essential features, leaving its details and later accretions for future discussions.<sup>1</sup>

The religion of the Sumerians, together with their conception of the macro-cosmos, is but a reflex of their human institutions as given on hand by their micro-cosmos or *kalam*, in which they lived. As this *kalam* or “Babylonia” proper developed, so the “world” was thought to have developed. This gives us the maxims: Human society = divine society; micro-cosmos or the *kalam* of the Sumerians = macro-cosmos or world.

The *kalam*, originally *one whole*, presided over by god *An*, the “king of the *kalam*”, very soon came to be looked upon, at a period which is still pre-historic for us, as consisting of two parts: a “northern” or “lower” and a “southern” or “upper” part. The latter was represented by the city of *Erech* with the temple of *An*: *É-an*; the former by the city of *Nippur* with the temple of *Enlil*: *É-kur*.

At an other and later period the *south* was centered in the city of *Eridu* with the *north* in *A-ĦA* or *ĦA-A*, *i. e.*, in “northern Mesopotamia”.

At still other times the *north* was either the city of *Girsu* or *Kutha* or *Akkad* or the *Armenian mountains* or the so-called “Westland” or even *Elam*. At the time of the kings of the II dynasty of Ur — the time from which a large portion of the Nippur Temple

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed investigation of the “*Time of the Sumerian Lenten or Dumuzi Festival*” see *B. E.*, Series D, vol. VI. If time permits, I hope to follow this up with a discussion of the “*Migration of the Dumuzi-Ninanna myth*”, beginning with the *Erech* trinity and ending with that of the “Westland”, from whence it penetrated to the Egyptians, Phoenicians, Greeks and Latins.

Library dates — Babylonia as a whole was designated by *Ki-en-gi-ki-Uri* (= *BUR-BUR*) which the Semites translated by “*Shumer and Akkad*”, the former being the “*southern*” or “*upper*” and the latter the “*northern*” or “*lower*” part — a designation clearly showing that the physical condition of Babylonia played absolutely no rôle whatever in the selection of these names, or else the northern mountainous regions of Babylonia as, *e. g.*, the Armenian mountains, Elam, the Westland, would much rather have deserved the name “*highland*” or “*upper*” part of Babylonia.

The “*southern*” part was the region of the “*Father*” and the “*northern*” that of the “*Son*”; and as the “*north*” was also the “*great abode*” (*iri-gal*) of the Babylonian gods, was, in fact, the “*netherworld*”, the “*Son*” came to be looked upon as the “*lord of the netherworld*”. The first and oldest “*lord of the netherworld*” was Enlil. The displacing of An by Enlil necessitated, of course, a shifting of the “*southern*” center from Erech to Nippur, *i. e.*, Nippur, during the Enlil period, became what Erech was during that of An: the “*southern*” or “*upper*” part of Babylonia, with Girsu or Kutha, etc. as the “*northern*” or “*lower*” part. Hence, the gods of Girsu (*Nin-Girsu*), Kutha (*Nergal*), etc. had necessarily to become not only the “*Sons*” of Enlil, but also and especially the “*lords of the netherworld*”.

Similar to the micro-cosmos was the development of the Babylonian macro-cosmos, which, though it originally formed but *one whole* (the *An*), was later on made to conform with its micro-cosmic pattern, becoming an *an-ki*, a “*heaven*” or “*upper*” and an “*earth*” or “*lower*” part. But the Sumerians were apparently not satisfied with this, they subdivided the “*heaven*” as well as the “*earth*” into two other parts: the “*upper*” or “*southern*” heaven, *i. e.*, the heaven as it appears during the “*summer*” half of the year, and the “*lower*” or “*northern*” heaven, *i. e.*, the heaven as it appears during the “*winter*” half of the year. This latter division applied to the “*earth*” gives us the “*upper*” earth as it appears to man, or the “*earth*” in opposition to the “*heaven*”, and the “*lower*” earth or “*netherworld*”. Even the very “*netherworld*” seems to have been subdivided into an “*upper*” and a “*lower*” netherworld: *an-edin ki-edin*.

At a still later time the boundaries of Babylonia were so far extended as to include not only the Euphrates and the Tigris, but even the “*sea of the going down of the sun*” and the “*sea of the rising of the sun*”, in other words, the *kalam* at this time was a “*world*” which was on all sides surrounded by water. Also this conception was transferred to both the macro-cosmos with its “*heavenly*” and “*terrestrial*” ocean and to the netherworld with its *Sahan*, which was a river consisting, like the Euphrates and Tigris, of two arms, one in the *west* and one in the *east*. When entering or leaving the netherworld this *Sahan* had to be crossed, becoming in this wise the prototype of the later “*Styx*” among the Greeks. The conveyance in ships of the Babylonian gods from one temple to the

other, at the time of the Sumerian *Akiti* of "New Year's" festival, *i. e.*, at the time, of the vernal equinox, is nothing but a symbolic action indicating that the gods have crossed the *Sahan* and, by doing so, have left the netherworld, the region of the north, the cold, the winter — a conception revealed in the heavens by the sun crossing the *murub-an* or equator.

Another division of the Babylonian macro- and micro-cosmos, of the heavens and the netherworld is into "seven parts", which seven parts were again modeled after the "seven *UB*" or "*DA*", *i. e.*, "compartments, divisions, spheres" of Erech.

The god of the Babylonian *kalam* was *An* of Erech, "the god of the totality of heaven and earth". At some as yet undefined period of the Sumerian religion *An* was differentiated into a husband and wife: *An* + *An* — a differentiation still betraying the fact that the wife of a god shared with her husband the same name, functions, attributes, and even gender. The wife of *An*, therefore, was not only the "queen" or "goddess of the totality of heaven and earth", but also the "lord of heaven and the mistress of earth", as is apparent from Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 32, no. 28: 7a, where *Innanna*, *i. e.*, *Ninanna*, the wife of *An*, speaks of herself: *an-na ù-mu-un-bi me-en ki-a ga-sha-an-bi me-en*, "of the heaven his lord I am; of the earth her lady I am", a passage showing that Ishtar — and for that matter any other god or goddess — is both male and female, and that the "heaven" and the "earth", the two parts of the Babylonian macro-cosmos, stand in the relation of "male" and "female", or "husband" (*umun* = *en*) and "wife" (*gashan* = *nin*), thus forming the prototype of the Greek *οὐρανὸς καὶ γαῖα*.<sup>1</sup> Cf. also *M. V. A. G.*, 1908, p. 220/29, where *Gashan-anna* tells us that she has received into her hands the *É-an-na É-ki-a*, "the house of heaven and earth", identifying herself (l. 22) with Enlil and Ninlil, the "lord" and "lady" of heaven and earth during the Enlil period of the Sumerian religion.

This "heaven" and "earth": *an* + *an*, or *an* + *ki*, or differentiated into *En* (*Umun*)-*an* + *Nin* (*Gashan*)-*an* and translated into Semitic by *An-um* — *An-tum* were the first divine pair, the first "father-mother" (*ama-a-a*) or parents, the begetters and creators of everything. They had a "Son" (*dumu*): the god *Lil*, later on differentiated into *En-lil* and *Nin-lil*, the well-known gods of Nippur. This son was the original, only and "true son" (*Dumu-zi*) — thus called to distinguish him from the later sons of *An* who usurped the rôle of Enlil, such as *IM*, *MAR-TU*, *En-zu*, etc. Enlil was, as his name indicates, the "god of the powers of nature", *i. e.*, of thunder, lightning, storm, clouds, rain, and thus necessarily the "god of the fertility of the ground". *An*, the heaven, as "Father", *Enlil*, the god of the powers of nature, as "Son", and *Nin* (*Gashan*)-*an*, the earth, as "Mother", constitute the members of the first and oldest trinity in the religion of the

<sup>1</sup> See also "Bél, the Christ of ancient times", pp. 21 ff.

Sumerians — a trinity, without which an accurate understanding of the so-called Dumuzi-Ninanna myth is evidently impossible.

The *origin* of this myth is to be sought in the city of Erech (*Iriki*), signifying in Sumerian merely “city”, “abode”. Here was the temple of *An*, called *É-an*, which was the “sphere of influence” of both *An* and *Nin (Gashan)-an*, the latter being, therefore, very often called *Nin (Gashan)-É-anna*, “the mistress of the house of An”. This name, together with that of *Nin (Gashan)-anna*, are the two foremost ones, in the texts here published, by which the later *Ishtar* is known.

The *significance* of this myth does not offer any difficulties, provided we accept the above offered explanation with regard to *Dumu-zi*, “the true ‘Son’”, as the god of the “powers of nature”, and *Gashan-an*, the “Mother”, as the goddess of the “earth”. The Dumuzi-Ninanna myth, then, treats of the relation of the “Mother”, or “earth”, to the “Son”, as the god of the “fertility of the ground”.

This Nin-anna appears in our texts soon as “virgin” (*ki-el*), and soon as “mother” (*ama*), “sister” (*SAL-KU* = *aḥat*),<sup>1</sup> or “bride” (*dam*) of Dumuzi, while the latter is termed either the “youthful one” (*kal*, *kal-tur*), or „brother” (*ses*), “son” (*dumu*), and “husband” (*mu-tan-na*) of Nin-anna.

These very names, it would seem, should suffice for a correct understanding of this myth. Nin-anna is the “Mother”, because she bore, as the wife of An, Dumuzi. But she is, or may become, the “wife” also of her own beloved “Son”, *i. e.*, she as “earth” enters every year, at the time of the early spring, into *wedlock* with the god of “rain” or of the “fertility of the ground”, in consequence of which she becomes pregnant and produces the “vegetation” or the “new life of nature”. This production of the new life of nature is described partly as a “resurrection” and partly as a “giving of birth”. Though the actual wedlock *took place* in the “*netherworld*”, *i. e.*, in the “*north*” where there is the “*mountain of the gods*”, it was *celebrated* or *re-enacted* upon “*earth*” in the various temples, and *revealed* in the “*heavens*”. Up to the time of the vernal equinox Nin-anna was a “virgin”, appearing in the heavens as “*virgo*”; with the occurrence of the equinox this virgin becomes the “Mother”, the “*creatrix and bearer of everything*”, revealing herself in the heavens as the “*sublime lady*” (*Nin-mah*), who holds a “*babe*” in her arms which she nourishes. Who or what this babe is, is not difficult to explain: it is the personified vegetation (*spica*), the new-born creation, the “*resurrected*” and hence “*new-born god of vegetation*”. No wonder, then, that before the IV century A. D., some Christian sects believed that Christ was born at the end of March, and that, though this belief was later on discarded in favor of the 25. of December, the Christian Church saw fit to compromise on this question by naming the first sunday after Easter *quasi modo geniti*, “like the new-born babes”.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the gloss *a-ḥat* in *C. T.*, XXIV, 11: 40 (see also 24: 56); XXV, 24a: 10 = 24b, II: 19.

The two-fold idea of Nin-anna's being a "virgin" and "mother" we still find in our modern "*virgin soil*" and "*mother earth*".

The remaining peculiarity according to which Nin-anna was also the "sister" of Dumuzi, is due mainly to the fact that the Sumerians considered the husband and wife to be "one". From this it follows that Nin-anna had to become, as "bride" of Dumuzi, the "daughter" of An, just as Dumuzi himself was the "son" of An. Dumuzi and Nin-anna, then, as husband and wife, are the "son" and "daughter" of An, and hence "brother" and "sister".

Later on, when the myth of Dumuzi and Nin-anna was transferred to the "Son" and "Mother" of the various other Sumerian trinities, it came to pass that Nin-anna or Ishtar as well as Dumuzi or Tamuz were looked upon as the "son" and "daughter" of each and every god who happened to play, in a particular city, the rôle of the "Father". This is the reason for the various and manifold genealogies of both Ishtar and Tamuz which make them the "daughter" and "son" of *An, Enlil, Enzu, Enki (abzu), Ningishzida*, etc., etc., and for their being identified with practically each and every "Mother" and "Son" of the Sumerian trinities.

The above mentioned wedlock of Dumuzi and Nin-anna is, however, only one of the two relations in which they stand. The texts published in this volume do not refer to this marriage at all. On the contrary, we find that the "mother", "bride" and "sister" of Dumuzi is pictured in them as being on her way to or through the "*netherworld*" in search for her "beloved", who is described as being "dead", having taken up his abode in the Sumerian hades — a locality or state referred to by extremely interesting and highly descriptive names. While on her way to the "abode of Dumuzi", Nin-anna passes the so-called "street full of wailing" (*sil a-si-ga*) continually crying out *a*, or *a-a*, or *ú-a*, or *wa-wa*, i. e., "alas", or "how long still", or "when at last", sc., "shall I be joined to my beloved?" Numerous and difficult are the obstacles which Nin-anna has to overcome until she at last is permitted to find her "beloved", with whom she enters the "bridal chamber".

The meaning of this episode in the myth is plain.

Dumuzi, the god of the "fertility of the ground", is "dead" (*dig*) or "powerless" (*ú-lá*) during the *winter*, at which time he was thought to have descended into the *netherworld*, situated in the *north*. The necessary consequence of this impotency on the part of the "god of the fertility of the ground" was the *barrenness* of the *earth* or *mother*. The earth is barren during the *winter* season and, as the *winter* corresponds to the *north*, Nin-anna likewise is said to be in the *north*, where there is the *netherworld*, hoping, longing and praying to be united with her "beloved" in holy wedlock and thus be able to produce the new verdure, the new life of nature.

These observations alone would justify us in maintaining that the so-called "*wailings*"

of *Nin-anna for Dumuzi*", which are the subject of the tablets here published, must have taken place some time during the winter season. Elsewhere I have shown that the 6<sup>th</sup> month of a year beginning with the autumnal equinox was the month of the "wailings for Dumuzi". This 6<sup>th</sup> month corresponded to our *February-March* and was called *Uhulu*, from which we have the Greek *ὄλολ-υζω* and the Latin *ulul-are* — terms frequently used in connection with the wailings of Aphrodite for Adonis. Now, as the resurrection of Dumuzi falls at the time of the vernal equinox, and as the wailings for Dumuzi take place in the month immediately preceding it, we may confidently assert, that these two features of the Dumuzi-Ninanna myth constitute the prototype of the Christian Lenten and Resurrection festivals. Both have for their basis the annual barrenness of nature and its resurrection to new life, and both are nature and spring festivals.

But each and every festival, though primarily given on hand by the immutable laws of nature, was at one time or another connected with *actual, historical facts*. The Christian lenten and resurrection festivals were connected with the actual and historical death and resurrection of Christ. The same is true of the Sumerian lenten and resurrection festivals. Again and again Nin-anna complains about the "enemies" and "dogs" who have invaded Babylonia, defiled and destroyed its cities and temples, asking and praying that these her cities and temples "be again restored".

Thanks to the tablets of the Nippur Library, we know now who these "enemies" and "dogs" were and whence they came. They were the "*hords*" from the *north* of Babylonia: the Gutti, Lulubi, Elamites etc., etc.

The macro-cosmic barrenness of the earth during the *winter* corresponds exactly to the destruction of Babylonia as micro-cosmos — a destruction which is wrought by the people from the *north*, the region of the *winter* and of the *netherworld*. To overcome this enemy, Dumuzi, like the later Nin-ib of the Nippur trinity, has to go to the *north* and smite this foe of Babylonia. And he does. As soon as this northern enemy is overcome, the rebuilding and dedication of the Babylonian cities and temples may and does take place. The *destruction* of the temples and cities represents the historical micro-cosmic *lent*; the *dedication* of the temples the historical micro-cosmic *resurrection*, while the "wailings" of Nin-anna, from this point of view, are nothing but the appeal of her "lamentation men" and "women" to the generosity and liberality of the Babylonian kings and faithful ones to open their purses and make a most liberal offering at "Easter (Ishtar)-time". This having been complied with, the gods, more particularly the "Son" and "Bride", can again take up their abode in the restored and dedicated temples, be re-united, and enter into holy wedlock.

This conception, it is needless to say, introduced into the Dumuzi-Ninanna myth quite a new feature: — a fight between the "enemy from the *north*" and the "god of the

powers of nature". And seeing that the *north* was also the region of the *netherworld*, this fight of Dumuzi acquired very soon a *mythological significance* — it was looked upon as a fight between the "powers of nature" and the "powers of darkness" (*Humbaba*): the winter, the cold, mythologically pictured as a serpent (*sahan*). It became a fight between the winter and spring, between darkness and light, between death and life — a fight such as took place not only at the "beginning of the world", when Marduk overcame Tiamat, or when Jahveh conquered Rahab-Liviathan, but a fight which is repeated every year, month (Enzu as Dumuzi) and day (Utu as Dumuzi) until the end of the world.

The outcome of this fight is well-known: the enemy from the north as well as the mythological foe is overcome; Dumuzi the god of the powers of nature remains victorious. Also this victory is revealed in the heavens by the appearance, at the time of the Sumerian resurrection festival, *i. e.*, at the time of the vernal equinox, of the star *En-te-na-MASH (BAR)-SIG (LUM)*, informing the faithful upon earth that *now* the dragon, the winter, the cold (*en-te-na*) has been conquered, that its rulership has come to an end and that, in consequence of this victory, the new life, the new creation, the resurrection has not only been made possible but has become an actual fact.

Dumuzi having overcome the foes of Babylonia — both historical and mythological — receives as a reward the power to "*judge*" the universe, its living and its dead. The vernal equinox with the sign *libra* tells us that this his judgment is one of absolute justice and equity: it is as evenly balanced as is the day and night as this time.

## II.

# TRANSLATIONS, NOTES AND ANNOTATIONS.

No. 1. C. B. M. 11393.

This tablet contained originally several songs of *Nin-anna*, the "mother", "sister" and "bride" of Dumuzi.

In the first song *Nin-anna* complains and bewails the destruction of her various and well-known cities and temples. Only one of the names of the cities is preserved, viz., *Nippur*, col. I : 16. The *úru-mu*, "my city", l. 15, is here<sup>1</sup> in all probability *Erech*, "the city" *par excellence* and seat of the oldest Sumerian or pre-historic<sup>2</sup> trinity: *An — Enlil — Nin-an*.

The following names of temples are still visible:

*DUR-AN-KI* and *É-DUR-AN-KI*, col. I : 16, 18, "(house of) the band<sup>3</sup> of heaven (and earth)". For *É-Dur-an* (-*ki* or *na*), the temple (*ésh*) and ziggurat of Nippur, see "Bél, the Christ", p. 21; *H. A. V.*, p. 413, 3; Hilprecht, "Excavations in Bible Lands", p. 462; Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 9, no. 5, II : 13; also see below, note 1; and for *ḏDur-an-ki* = *ḏDur-an* = *ḏEn-lil*, see *C. T.*, XXIV, 39 : 4; 22 : 104. *ḏDur-an* (-*ki*, *na*) was the father (*a-li-du-ush*) of *ḏNin-an-na*, i. e., of Ishtar as *ḏNin-gal* and wife of *ḏEn-zu*, K. 9955 + Rm. 613 (Bezold, "Cat." 1053); of *ḏNé-iri-gal* = Nergal, *H. A. V.*, p. 428; and of *ḏPA-KU* = *Nusku*, K. 3285 (Bezold, "Cat." 520, where, however, *Gú-an-ki* is a mistake for *Dur-an-ki*). This name, though originally belonging to Enlil as "Son"

<sup>1</sup> Just as *É-an*, during the Enlil period of the Sumerian religion, became the name of the temple of Nippur (*É-kur*), so did *úru* come to signify *Nippur*; cf. *H. A. V.*, pp. 410, note 2; 413; 443, note 19; notice also that the *ḏNin-Nibruki*, "the mistress of Nippur" and wife of Nin-ib, appears in *C. T.*, XXIV, 49a : 3 = XXV, I : 3 = 29b : 1 as *ḏNin-uru*, the wife of *ḏGú-an-ni-si-il* = *ḏú-ra-ash* *IB*, i. e., Nin-ib, *C. T.*, XXV, 13 : 35. See also *B. E.*, XXVII, no. 1, I : 1, 2 = Pinches, *E. N.* (*P. S. B. A.*, 1911, p. 85), I : 1, 2, [*úru-ki-na*]-*nam* (var. *Dur-an-ki*) *úru-ki-na-nam na-an-dúr-ru-ne-en-ne*, *Nibruki úru-ki-na-nam na-an-dúr-ru-ne-en-ne*, "in the 'city', in the 'city' they dwell; in Nippur, the 'city', they dwell".

<sup>2</sup> For the various periods in the history of the Sumerian religion see "Bél, the Christ", pp. 4ff.; *H. A. V.*, pp. 410ff.; *B. E.*, XXIX, pp. 13ff.

<sup>3</sup> For the significance of the "band of heaven" = that part of the heaven which has the north-pole (*an-sha(g)-ga*) for its center with the tropic of capricornus (time before Nabonassar) as its periphery, see *B. E.*, Series D, vol. VI. This was pre-eminently the domain of the *mál mar-gi(d)-da* (Kugler, *Sternk.*, I, 249 = *ursa major*; Dhorme, *R. A.*, VIII, p. 47, III : 30 = *grand mât*) which ever revolves around the north pole. The opposite of the "band of heaven" is the "band of earth". The intervening part is the "zodiac" (*gán*) with the "equator" (*murub-an*) and the "ecliptic" (*ul-gán*), presided over by Sin, Shamash and Ishtar, *H. A. V.*, p. 421. cf. also below, p. 25, note 6.



of the An trinity, was later on transferred to the "Son" of the Enlil trinity, Ninib, who, therefore, is said to hold the *markas* (= *dur*) *AN u KI*, "the band of heaven and earth", *Ann. of Ashshurnasirapal*, I : 2; cf. also the <sup>4</sup>*KU* (= *dúr* = *markas*, so better than *egí*, *B. E.*, XXIX, 29, 4?) - *an-na* and <sup>4</sup>*KU-ki-ta* among the several Nin-ib names, *C. T.*, XXV, 14 : 14, 15, who are also the first two of the eight children of <sup>4</sup>*Ne-gín*, *C. T.*, XXIV, 24 : 114.

Even the "Son" of the *En-zu* trinity at Ur, <sup>4</sup>*Utu*, acquired the title "band of heaven and earth" as is apparent from II *R.*, 50 : 19 a, where the ziggurra of Shamash at Larsa is called *É-Dur-an-ki*.

*ÉSH-É-AN-NA*, col. I : 17, the well-known "temple of An", the "habitation of Anu and Ishtar" at Erech, *K. B.*, VI<sup>1</sup>, p. 128 : 37. Ishtar appears accordingly very often under the name of (<sup>4</sup>)*Gashan-É-an-na*, i. e., "lady of *É-an*". In Semitic translations *É-an-na* is rendered by *É-A-A-AG*<sup>1</sup> — a name, the meaning of which is not yet apparent. In *B. E.*, XXVII, no. 1, IV : 26, this temple of Ishtar is referred to as *É-an-na É-ub-7-ne 7-gī ù-di il-la*, i. e., "the *É-anna*, the house of the seven spheres, whose seven *gī* (compartments?) are full of splendor". In this *É-an-na* there was an *IB*, which could and was burned;<sup>2</sup> Ishtar herself was called <sup>4</sup>*Innanna IB-gal*,<sup>3</sup> i. e., "Ishtar (of) the great IB".<sup>4</sup>

Though *É-an-na* was originally the temple of An and Ishtar at Erech, yet in course of time it came to stand for "temple" in general. We find an *É-an* at Nippur.<sup>5</sup> Gudea built an *É-an-na* in Girsu<sup>6</sup> for "<sup>4</sup>*Innanna*, the mistress of the lands" (*nin kur-kur-ra*), into which he brings the statue called "the life of Gudea, who has built this temple, may be long".<sup>7</sup> On account of this fact Gudea ascribes to himself the proud title "builder of the *É-an-na*".<sup>8</sup> Also Dungi, king of Ur, restored (*ki-gi*) and erected the great wall (*bád-gal*) of an *É-an-na* for "<sup>4</sup>*Innanna*, the mistress of *É-an-na*, his mistress",<sup>9</sup> but it is not clear whether this *É-an-na* was that of Erech or of Ur. Singashid, king of Erech, builds<sup>10</sup> (*ba-dim*) the *É-an-na* of his capital and enumerates among his titles that of "caretaker of *É-an-na*".<sup>11</sup> Even in the city of Mar there seems to have been a temple *É-an-na*, for according to

<sup>1</sup> *R. H.*, p. 116 (no. 64) : 6, 7; *A. S. K. T.*, p. 126, no. 21 (= *M. V. A. G.*, 1908, p. 220) : 29, 30, here followed by *É-ki-a* = *É-An-ti*. A correction of *É-An-ti* into *É-KI-ti* (Hommel, *S. L.*, p. 40) is not necessary, seeing that *Antu* (= *Nin-anna*) is the "earth", *yaša*, forming with *An* = "heaven", *oḡarós*, the "Father" and "Mother" of the Erech trinity, see "Bêl, the Christ", p. 28 c; *B. E.*, XXIX, 16.

<sup>2</sup> Urukagina, *Tontafel*, Obv., IV : 5.

<sup>3</sup> Eannatum, *St. Vult.*, IV : 22; V : 27, cf. Witzel, *O. L. Z.*, Aug. 1911, Sp. 337.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. here also the *IB-LU azag ama É-sha(b)-ba (-an)*, one of the several names of Ishtar, *e. g.*, no. 2 : 43; *H. A. V.*, no. 14 : 20.

<sup>5</sup> See references on p. 8, note 1.

<sup>6</sup> Statue C, III : 12, *É-an-na sha(g) Gir-suki-ka*; *Steintafel A*, 7, *É-an-na Gir-suki-ka*.

<sup>7</sup> Statue C, IV : 3.

<sup>8</sup> Statue C, I : 5, *galu É-an-na in-du-a*.

<sup>9</sup> *Steintafel G*, 1 ff., <sup>4</sup>*Innanna*, *nin É-an-na*, *nin-a-ni*.

<sup>10</sup> *Backstein A*, 4, 5, cf. *Tonnagel*, 9.

<sup>11</sup> *Tonnagel*, 8, *ú-a É-an-na*.

*H. A. V.*, no. 3 : 17 (p. 439), the “mistress of Mar”<sup>1</sup> cries out: “Exalted one, my abode, which has been destroyed, my [*É-an-na*,<sup>2</sup> may it be restored to its place”.]

<sup>1</sup>*Bí-li-li*, the sister of Dumuzi, calls herself “in *É-an-na* the powerful one I am”,<sup>3</sup> while Dumuzi himself had the name <sup>4</sup>*Lugal-É-an-na*, “king of *É-an-na*”.<sup>4</sup> For the various translations *É-an-na* may be capable of, see *B. E.*, XXIX, p. 10, note 7. Other references to the *É-an-na* in old Sumerian texts may be found in no. 9, III : 15; *C. T.*, XV, 19 : 5; 26 : 6; Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 46, no. 50 : 3a (*ésh É-an-na*, in connection with Erech, Kullab); p. 49, no. 58 : 1b; p. 54, no. 68 : 19, here in connection with Ishtar as “bride” of Sin (<sup>5</sup>*Nanna*), “the lord, the king, the son of Anu” (*ù-mu-un lugal dumu An-na*, l. 26) — the only passage, so far, in which Sin appears as “son of An!”

*GĪ-BŪR*-7, col. I : 19. Notice here the absence of *ésh* or *É*.<sup>5</sup> For the reading *būr* of the sign *KISAL*,<sup>6</sup> see *H. A. V.*, p. 432, note 7; cf. now also Thureau-Dangin, *R. A.*, VII, p. 109, note 3 and especially *l. c.*, IX, p. 79, where the sign  $\Xi$  has undoubtedly the reading *pār*.<sup>7</sup> In *R. H.*, p. 116 (no. 64) : 8, the [*Gī-būr*]-7-*na* is explained by  $\Upsilon$  *gi-pa-ru* *Ú-ru*-[*uk*], “the g. of Erech”,<sup>8</sup> while in *N. F.*, AO 4334, etc., F. I : 8; II : 5,6, there follows immediately upon *ú-ru Ku-la-ab* the name *Gī-ba-ri-na-mi-na* — a writing consisting apparently of *gibari* + *na*(= *anna*, see below, note 1) + *imina*, *i. e.*, “the seven *giparu* of the universe”, and which in *R. H.*, p. 100 : 34, appears as *Gī-būr*-7-*an*-[*na*]<sup>9</sup> and in Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 42, no. 39 : 4a, as the *gī*- $\Xi$  (= *pār*)-7 *shu-ub-ba*, “the seven beautiful g.” For the various writings of *gī-būr* see *B. E.*, XXIX, p. 10 note 7, where

<sup>1</sup> *dNIN-Markī* has to be read according to Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 48, no. 53 : 6a, *I-ni-Mà-ar<sup>ki</sup>*, a writing showing that *NIN* had also the pronunciation *ini*. *Innanna*, *Innana*, *Innina* is, therefore, = *In(n)i* + *an(n)a*; *Innina* = *In(n)i* + *na* (for *na* = *anna* see *H. A. V.*, p. 407, 4). A further abbreviation of *na* (= *anna*) to “*n*” we have in *In-nin* which has been Semiticized into *In-nin-ni(nu)* = *In(n)i-Anu(i)* and into *In-nin-na-at* (= *In(n)i* + *anna* + *at*) *ilāni* = “mistress of the ‘god of the gods’”, Perry, *Sin*, IV : 1. This observation explains also the reason why there should be used after <sup>4</sup>*Innanna* two postfixes, “Creation-Story”, p. 13, 3, 4: — because the word means “mistress of An”; see already Thureau-Dangin, *Lettres et Contrats*, p. 61b. For *Ini-Mar* in the rôle of Ishtar see also Zimmern, *l. c.*, p. 51, no. 64.

<sup>2</sup> For the emendation cf. *H. A. V.*, p. 443, note 19.

<sup>3</sup> No. 3 : 8, 42, *É-an-na-shù ú-gùr-ru me-en*.

<sup>4</sup> *C. T.*, XXV, 39c : 2, here followed immediately by <sup>4</sup>*Lugal-sa-pār* = *Umun-sa-pār*, one of the well-known names of Dumuzi. While *C. T.*, XXV, 39c : I—20, contain Dumuzi names, there begin with l. 21 those of Ishtar, cf. *e. g.*, l. 22, <sup>4</sup>*Nin-ki-shù*[*b-ba*], “mistress of the beautiful place (= harem)”, or perhaps simply “beautiful lady” (cf. *ki-shùb* with *ki-ág*).

<sup>5</sup> So also in *C. T.*, XV, 25 : 54.


<sup>6</sup> The *gishbūr*(= *KISAL*), Gudea, Cyl. B, III : 19 *et passim*, is merely a variant of *gishbūr*, mentioned in *H. A. V.*, p. 392 : 30, while the *É-būr* is the “house where the *būr* is kept or preserved”, cf. the *É-rū-ia-nun*, “the house of honey and cream (butter)”. A translation “*Temple des Vorhofes*” (Cyl. A, IV : 5) is unintelligible to me. Cf. already, *B. E.*, XXIX, p. 84, 23.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. in this connection the writing *ù-mu-un sa*- $\Upsilon$ - $\Xi$  (= *pār*), Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 29, no. 26, VI : 36, with *ù-mu-un sa*- $\Upsilon$ - $\Xi$  (= *būr*), *l. c.*, p. 30, no. 27, II : 3; p. 45, no. 45 : 7a, 6c.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. M. 6710, *Gī-pa-ru*-7 = *Ú-ru-uk*.

<sup>9</sup> M. 6709 emends to *Gī-pār*-7<sup>ki</sup> = Erech.

it is mentioned that the ziggurrat of Erech had the name *É-gī-būr-7*, while Erech itself was called *Gī-pār-7<sup>ki</sup>*. Cf. here also the *7-gī* (an abbreviation of *7-gī-būr*?) in connection with the temple *É-an-na*, mentioned above, p. 9.

Bur-Sin, king of Ur, built a *gī-būr* for <sup>d</sup>Nanna-Karzida at Ur,<sup>1</sup> which in *B. E.*, XXVII, no. 1, III : 47, is termed *ésh Gī-būr-zu el-e gar-ra*, "thy house, the g., beautifully built". Also Libit-Ishtar, king of Isin, erected an *É-gī-būr*,<sup>2</sup> but it is not evident where and for whom. Entemena<sup>3</sup> and Urukagina,<sup>4</sup> patesis of Lagash, built an *É-gī(sh)-pū-ra* for Nin-Girsu at Lagash. The "lord (*umun*) of the *É-gī-pār*", *i. e.*, Dumuzi,<sup>5</sup> is mentioned in *R. H.*, p. 120 : 12. According to AO 2539,<sup>6</sup> *Innanna* was called *nin Gī-būr-ra-ge*, "the mistress of the g." In no. 9, II : 21, there appears as *Ga-sha-an Gī-būr-ra* a goddess [...]-ba, — a name, which in all probability was originally [<sup>d</sup>*Nin-tin-dīb*]-ba,<sup>7</sup> though the space seems rather small for such an emendation. From the fact, lastly, that *gī-par-r[u]* forms one group<sup>8</sup> with *gi-gu-nu-u*, "paradise, beautiful place, bridal chamber", and *ki-iš-su* = , *i. e.*, "the house where one passes the 'night'", hence a syn. of *bît eklêti*, "house of darkness", the habitation of *Irkalla*, it becomes evident that the *gīpar* is not only a "chamber", but more particularly a "chamber" in which Ishtar and Dumuzi pass the "(wedding)-night"; and as "7" has also the meaning *kishshatu*, "totality", the *Gī-būr-7-an-na* or the *Gī-ba-ri-na-mi-na* had most likely the significance "bridal chamber of the totality (whole) of the universe", *i. e.*, the bridal chamber *par excellence* — surely, a most becoming name for the bridal chamber of Erech, the seat of the Sumerian religion. That this name, like *É-an*, should later on have been transferred to the bridal chamber of other cities, is only natural and in keeping with the development of the Sumerian religion. For other occurrences, in ancient Sumerian texts, see Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 13, no. 8, II : 41, *Gī-būr-ra*; p. 17, no. 12, II : 9, p. 26, no. 26, IV : 10, 11, *gī-būr*; p. 27, no. 26, II : 9, 10, *ma-Gī-būr-ra*, "house of the g."; *l. c.*, 15, 16, *gī-būr*; p. 51, no. 64, I : 2, *É-Gī-būr-a*.

*ME-NAM-NUN-NA*, "the house (*É* omitted) of the commands of (my) ladyship", col. I : 20 — an otherwise unknown temple of Ishtar.<sup>9</sup>

*É-GÛ-AN-NI-SI-SIB(?DIB?)-BA(?)*, col. I : 21. The sign *sib* (a Semitism for *imin* = 7?) is doubtful; it may be *dīb*, *i. e.*, the "*Gû-an-ni-si* of the 'dead'", in the sense of "nether-

<sup>1</sup> See inscriptions of Bur-Sin, *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> *Tonnagel*, I: 14.

<sup>3</sup> *Türangelstein* D, 6, 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Türangelstein*, 39; *Steintafel*, II: 3.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 40, no. 35, Rev., I: 10, *en-zu gī-bur-ta ba-ra-è-a*, "thy lord, who has left the g".

<sup>6</sup> Thureau-Dangin, *R. A.*, VII, p. 109, 3.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. also no. 9, I: 4, [<sup>d</sup>*Nin-tin-dīb*]-ba *e-gi su-ub An-na-ge*, "N., the glorious (*mashshu*) mistress of An".

<sup>8</sup> *C. T.*, XVIII, 26: 32, cf. Meissner, *Ass. Stud.*, III, 7, 8.

<sup>9</sup> *N. F.*, AO 4334, etc., Face I: 6, has to be emended to *sig Unu(g)[<sup>ki</sup>-ga-za] me-nam-[tush-tush-te]* rather than to *me-nam-[nun-na]*, *i. e.*, "within the walls of thy Erech, when at last wilt thou (= Dumuzi) take up thy abode?" Cf. *l. c.*, ll. 2—5, 8.

world". In *B. E.*, XXVII, no. 1, IV : 27, a *Gù-an-ni-si-7-e* appears as the name of the "temple of <sup>d</sup>*Innanna* of Erech",<sup>1</sup> and in *l. c.*, VII : 29, as that of the "temple of <sup>d</sup>*Ni-in-si-na* of *Ì-si-in<sup>ki</sup>-na*"<sup>2</sup> — which represents, apparently, another transfer of the name of the Erech temple to that of the city of Isin. In *B. E.*, XXVII, no. 1, VI : 25 (cf. 26), *Gù-an-ni-si* is the name of a temple of the "great child of Sin, the holy Ishtar" (*dumu-gal* <sup>d</sup>*En-zu-na* azag <sup>d</sup>*Innanna-ge*), who according to l. 33, is the "beautiful Ishtar of Erech" (<sup>d</sup>*Innanna-shùb Unu(g)<sup>ki</sup>-a*), *i. e.*, the "Ishtar of Hallabi". According to this passage we ought to correct the *É-sag*(?) [- . — .] of Arad-Sin, *Kanephore*, I : 11 (= *V. A. B.*, I, p. 214) into *É-Gù-[an-ni-si]*, with the result that this name, like the *Gi-būr* above, becomes a syn. of *Gi-gùn*.

The "mother of the *Gù-an-ni-si*" is Ishtar under the name of <sup>d</sup>*En-á-nun*.<sup>3</sup> In *R. H.*, p. 86 : 52 = *V R.*, 52, II : 17, this <sup>d</sup>*En-á-nun* (<sup>d</sup>*shu-ma*) *ama* *Gù-ni* (sic! without *an*)-*si-ge* stands between *Gashan-É-gal* *ama* *Kullab<sup>ki</sup>* and *Umun-É* (var. <sup>d</sup>*Umun-É*) *amar za-gín-na*. The same succession of names, with their Semitic equivalents, we find in *R. H.*, p. 91 : 19 ff., which has to be emended as follows:

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 19. [ <i>Gashan-É-gal</i>                   | <i>ama KUL-unu(g)<sup>ki</sup>-ge</i>                   |
| 20. [ <sup>d</sup> <i>Bêlit-Irkalli</i>     | <i>um-mi(!) shu-ma</i> ( <i>i. e.</i> , <i>Kullab</i> ) |
| 21. [ <sup>d</sup> <i>En-á-nun</i>          | <i>ama</i> <i>Gù-[an-ni-si-ge]</i>                      |
| 22. [ <sup>d</sup> <i>Gu-la</i>             | <i>um(!)-mi(!) Ish-ta-[ri-tum]</i>                      |
| 23. [ <i>Umun-ÉNINDA-GUD</i>                | <i>amar za-gín-[na]</i>                                 |
| 24. [ <i>bêl</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>shu-ma</i> | <i>ma-ri el-lum.</i>                                    |



In C.B.M. 112 : 3 (unpubl.) the *En-a* (sic!)-*nu-un egi* (= *HUG*) *ur-ku-7*, *i. e.*, "the mistress of the seven dogs"<sup>4</sup> is mentioned between *Ga-sha-an I-ri<sup>5</sup>-ga-al a-ma Ku-ul-la-ba* and the

<sup>1</sup> Being here in parallelism with the *É-an-na É-ub-7-ne 7-gi ù-di il-la* (l. 26), for which see above pp. 9, 11.

<sup>2</sup> Preceded in l. 28 by its other name *É-[-]-amash-7-e*.

<sup>3</sup> No. 2 : 44 = Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 22, no. 25, II : 12, where she is mentioned between the *IB-LU* (cf. p. 13, note 4) *azag ama É-sha(b)-ba* and the *Ga-sha-an-SHÜ-ÜG-GE-mar-ra ki-azag-ga*, which last named two goddesses follow upon each other in *H. A. V.*, no. 14 : 20, 21, thus omitting the *En-á-nun*. In *R. H.*, p. 89 : 11 = 93 : 8, [<sup>d</sup>*En-á-nu*] *n ama* *Gù-an-ni-si-ge* is preceded by [*IB-LU azag*] *ama É-sha(b)-ba-ge* but followed by the [*Gashan-É-gal-mah*] *Gashan-É-RAB-RI-RI* and the *Gashan-É-SHÜ-ÜG-GE-mar-ra gashan ki-azag-ga-ge*.

<sup>4</sup> Notice in this connection that in the celebrated psalm Sm. 954 : 11, 12, Ishtar is said to be an *ur-bar-ra* = *bar-ba-ru*, "wild dog", and that in Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 7, no. 4, I : 33, 34, she has, as the *Ka-sha-na-na* (= *Gashan-Ana*), the attributes *e-gi Ka-sha-kur-ùr* (= var. of *ur-ku-ge*, "lady, mistress of the land of dogs" and *Ka-sha-an-kur-ùr* (= *ur-ba-ra-ge*), "mistress of the land of the wild dogs". This "land" (*kur* = *iršitum*) is here, as elsewhere, the "netherworld" with the seven "watch-dogs", the later "*Kerberos*".

<sup>5</sup> This writing is of the highest importance, showing us that the sign  had also the reading *iri*. Furthermore, if we compare C.B.M. 112 : 7, *Ü-mu-un-I-ri-ga-al gu-si-sa* [ ] (followed by *Ir-ra-ga-al gu-si-sa* [ ]), with the parallel passages in *R. H.*, p. 86 : 57, [*Umun-É*] *la umun á-gi(d)-da* (followed by <sup>d</sup>*Ir-ra-gal gù-á-nu-sá*) and in Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 16, no. 11, III : 6, *Ü-mu-un-É* (sic!) *gal ù-mu-un É* (sic!) *gi(d)-da* (followed by <sup>d</sup>*Ir-ra-gal kù-á-nu-si*), we will have to admit that also the sign *UNU(G)* =  had a value *iri*. These observations help us to explain the following:

*Ma-su(d) in-da-ag-ra mu-ú-ri-na*, while in Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 16, no. 11, III : 1, the *<sup>d</sup>En-á-nun ama Gù-an-ni-si* is followed by *<sup>d</sup>NINDA-GUD<sup>1</sup> amar zag<sup>2</sup>-gi(n)*. In *C. T.*, XXV,

The *Umun-Iri-gal*, generally identified with *<sup>d</sup>Né-iri-gal* or with *<sup>d</sup>Mes-lam-ta-è-a*, and translated by *be-lu ina KI-tim*, "lord in the 'earth'" (*R. H.*, p. 20: 20, 21), is none other than the *<sup>d</sup>Irkalla*, the "god of the *iri-gal*" or "great abode", the "house of Dumuzi" (M. 3292), the "Arallu" or "netherworld" (M. 3290, 3291), or also called the *bù ek-le-ti shu-bat <sup>d</sup>Ir-kal-la*, "the house of darkness (i. e., the house, where the 'time of darkness' = night, winter, death, is spent, cf. *ki-iš-su*, above, p. 11), the dwelling of (the god of) *Irkalla*", *K. B.*, VI<sup>1</sup>, p. 188: 29; Zimmern, *K. A. T.*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 636, 637, note 1.

The Hebrew  $\text{אֵרִיגַל}$  = *Ú-ru-uk*, Erech, represents a good Sumerian reading and tradition: *Unu(g)<sup>ki</sup>-ga* = *Uru(g)<sup>ki</sup>-ga* = *Iri<sup>ki</sup>-g(k)a*.

The name of Nergal, generally read *<sup>d</sup>Né-unu(g)-gal*, must henceforth be transcribed by *<sup>d</sup>Né-iri-gal* =  $\text{נֶרְגַל}$  = "the strength (strong one) of the great abode", i. e., *iri-gal* becomes thus a syn. of *É-gi(d)-da*, "the extended house" = *á-gi(d)-da*, where the *á* ought to be read *ē* or *ī* = "house", rather than "strength". Notice also that *<sup>d</sup>Ninazu* = Dumuzi, the husband of Ereshkigal, appears in C. B. M. 112: 12, as the *Ú-mu-un-a-zu ù-mu-un É* (sic!) *g[i-da]*, for which the parallel passages have *Umun-á* (sic!) *zu umun á-gi(d)-da* = *[be-el]É-shu-[ma]*, *R. H.*, p. 138: 102, 103 = 134, II: 16, 17 = 86: 6. An *É-gi(d)-da*, belonging to *<sup>d</sup>Ninazu* of *IM<sup>ki</sup>*, is mentioned also in *B. E.*, XXVII, no. 1, IV: 6.


*Iri-gal* is a variant also of *úru-gal* or *eri-gal*, "the great city", cf. Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 59, no. 79: 9, where *<sup>d</sup>Mes-lam-ta-è-a* (= Nergal) is referred to as *alim-ma ur-sag ù-mu-un úru (eri)-gal*, "hero, warrior, lord of the 'great city'".




Lastly, the name *<sup>d</sup>AB-Ú*, by which Ninib and Dumuzi are designated, ought to be read *<sup>d</sup>Iri-sham*, "the irrigator" = "fructifier", thus called as the "god of the fertility of the ground", cf. "Bél, the Christ", p. 16, note 8.

<sup>1</sup> According to this passage the  $\text{𒀭𒌦𒀭}$  of *R. H.*, p. 86: 53, and the  $\text{𒀭𒌦𒀭}$  of V *R.*, 52, II: 17, has to be corrected into  $\text{𒀭𒌦𒀭}$ , which is generally read *NINDA-GUD*, but which, according to C. B. M. 112: 4, had the reading *ma-su(d) in-da-ag-ra*. *Ma-su(d)* is in all probability merely a variant of  $\text{𒀭𒌦𒀭}$  *su(d)* = *massú*, appearing here as a syn. of *umun*, "lord". If this be true, then the *in-da-ag-ra* must represent the *NINDA-GUD*. Seeing that *GUD* has also the value *har*, the *in-da-ag-ra* may consist of *in-da* = *NINDA* + *gra* = *gara* = *har(a)*; for the interchange of "g" and "h", see Fossey, *H. A. V.*, p. 114: 19. *NIN* = *in* may be explained by supposing that *NIN* had also the value *in* (shortened from *ini*, see above, p. 10, note 1), or that *in-da* stands for *ē* (= *NIN*)-*da*, dissimilated into *enda* = *inda*. As regards the *mu-ú-ri-na* = *amar za (zag)-gín(gi(n))*, I am at a loss to suggest any definite explanation. Is *mu-ú-ri-na* composed of *mu-ú-r* = (*a*)*mar* = *marum*, "child" (M. 6821) + *rin(a)*, a syn. of *za-gín*? Notice that  $\text{𒀭𒌦𒀭}$ , *rin*, *gúr* is also =  $\text{𒀭𒌦𒀭}$ , *il*, *gúr*; but in no. 4: 39, 40, *IL* has apparently a value in "n". Is *rin* = *za-gín* = *IL* = "n" = *shapú*, *ellu*? Or is *mu-ú-ri-na* = *mu-ú-r* + *na* (= *anna*, cf. *gi-ba-ri-na* = *gibar-anna*, above, p. 10), conveying the idea that *Ma-su(d) in-da-ag-ra* is a "son of An (and Enlil)", like *<sup>d</sup>IM*, with whom he is identified according to *C. T.*, XXIV, 10: 14?

Notice in this connection that *NINDA-GUD* (*St. Vult.*, Rev., I: 40) is = *GUD-NINDA* (*Gudea*, Cyl. B, XV: 9), and cf. *R. H.*, p. 19: 14, 15, where it is said of Nergal (*Umun-iri-gal-la* = *<sup>d</sup>U-GUR*) that he is the *GUD-NINDA á-da* (= var. of *sa-ga*, *shá(g)* = *damqu*, *banú*) = *mí-ri ba-nu-ú*, "the glorious, beautiful son", whom the father Enlil has exalted. For Nergal as "son of Enlil", see *H. A. V.*, p. 428. We have here a clear example of a transference of certain names, attributes and functions from Nergal, the "lord of the netherworld", i. e., from Nergal in the rôle of Dumuzi, to *<sup>d</sup>IM*. This justifies the inference that *<sup>d</sup>IM*, the successor of *<sup>d</sup>MAR-TU*, the god of the "Westland", was in Canaan what Dumuzi was in Babylonia: — the "god of the powers of nature", who "died", was "bewailed" (cf. here the wailings over the death of Adad-Rimmon, i. e., *<sup>d</sup>IM*, in Zeel. 12: 11) and "rose" every year "to new life". For *<sup>d</sup>MAR-TU* in the rôle of Dumuzi, see now *N. F.*, AO 4331 + 4335, where, as was to be expected, this god appears as the "son of An" (*dumu An-na*, col. III: 3) and as the "husband" (*dam*, col. II: 1, 5) and "son" (*dumu*, col. II: 2, 5; III: 1, 6) of the *mu-gi-ib* [*Ka-sh*] *a-na-na* (col. I: 2), i. e., "of the Ishtaritu, the mistress of An". The Ishtar-Tamuz cult of Canaan is clearly of Sumerian origin and importation.

<sup>2</sup> For this interchange of *zag* and *za*, cf. *lugal-zag-ge* = *lugal-za-ge*, "of thy king", *Gudea*, Cyl. A, X: 6. See also *N. F.*, AO 4331/5, Face III: 4, 5, *za-na-ta* (= *zag-an-na-ta*) *za-ki-she* (= *zag-ki-shú*) *ú-tu* (= *Utu*) *e* (= *è*)-*ta* (not *ush*, as copy gives) *ú-tu shu* (= *shù*)-*she* (= *shú*) *mu-zu an-za-she* (= *an-zag-shú*), i. e., "from the confines of heaven (= uppermost south) to the confines of earth (= lowest north: netherworld), from the rise of the sun (= east) to the going down of the sun (= west), thy (i. e., *<sup>d</sup>MAR-TU*) name reaches unto the heavens"; cf. also *l. c.*, II, 3, 6.


2 : 33, 34 = XXIV, 21b : 8–10, <sup>d</sup>En-<sup>A</sup>a-nun is called the ama-, i. e., “mother of the house of women” (harem = *mashtaku*), but which the Semitic annotator glossed by *um-mi ri-mi*, “mother of the womb (hardly ‘of compassion’)”, and is identified with <sup>d</sup>Gu-la,<sup>1</sup> the wife<sup>2</sup> of <sup>d</sup>Pa-bil-sag, the *shakkanakku* of the netherworld<sup>3</sup> and son<sup>4</sup> of the “mistress of Isin”. <sup>d</sup>Pa-bil-sag was the “lord of Larag”,<sup>5</sup> where he played the same rôle of Dumuzi as did Ninib, the son of Enlil, at Nippur. This, no doubt, is the reason why <sup>d</sup>Pa-bil-sag is identified with Ninib,<sup>6</sup> and why Ninib is called the <sup>d</sup>Gú-an-ni-si-[il].<sup>7</sup>

Lastly, there appears in *C. T.*, XXV, 6 : 17, a wife (*dam-bi-sal*) of <sup>d</sup>Lugal-gír-ra (= Nergal), called <sup>d</sup>-an-ni-si, — a name, in which the  is, in all probability, a mistake for , i. e. *kù*. Seeing that Nergal is the “Enlil of the netherworld”<sup>8</sup> and the “brother” and “husband” of Ereshkigal, “the queen of the netherworld” (*shar-rat KI-tim*), we may not be wrong in identifying this <sup>d</sup>Kù-an-ni-si with the <sup>d</sup>KA<sup>su</sup>-a-nu (sic!)-si,<sup>9</sup> who, according to *C. T.*, XXV, 4 : 25, is the same as <sup>d</sup>Al-la-tum, <sup>d</sup>Eresh-ki-gal, <sup>d</sup>Ama-LIT-zi-kur-ra — all of whom having for their husband (*dam-bi-ush*) the <sup>d</sup>Gú-gal-an-na.

But, and this is most important, Ereshkigal, the wife of <sup>d</sup>Gú-gal-an-na and Nergal,


<sup>1</sup> Notice here also that the <sup>d</sup>Ama-TU (var. *tur*)-Gù-an-si is one of the several [?] of <sup>d</sup>Gu-la: *C. T.*, XXIV, 47a : 22.


<sup>2</sup> *C. T.*, XXV, 2 : 35 = XXIV, 21b : 11, <sup>d</sup>Pa-bil-sag *dam-bi-ush* : *dam* <sup>d</sup>Gu-l[a-ge]. For <sup>d</sup>Pa-bil-sag = <sup>d</sup>Pa, see below, p. 25, note 7.

<sup>3</sup> *C. T.*, XVI, 13a : 42/3, <sup>d</sup>Pa-bil-sag *GÍR-NITA* *kur-ra-ge* = <sup>d</sup> *shak-ka-nak-ka KI-tim*. The <sup>d</sup>Pa-bil-sag of *C. T.*, XXIV, 47a : 32, has to be corrected, according to *C. T.*, XXV, 4 : 9, into [<sup>d</sup>Nin-*har-ra*]-an *PA-RÍM-sag ra-bi-su* [...].

<sup>4</sup> This follows from *C. B. M.* 112 : 18, where *Ga-sha-an I-si-na* (17) is followed by *dumu-zu* (“thy son”) *Pa-bi-il-sa-ág tu-ku-ul sim* (? *gurum*?) *-mu-zu*.

<sup>5</sup> *R. H.*, p. 86 : 12 = 134, 11 : 25 = 138 : 111, <sup>d</sup>Pa-bil-sag *umun UD-UD-ag<sup>ki</sup>*; *N. F.*, AO 4343, Face A : 5, <sup>d</sup>Pa-bil-sag [*ù-mu-un La*]-*ra-ga*; Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 12, no. 8, Rev., II : 4; p. 16, no. 11, Rev., III : 26 [<sup>d</sup>Pa-bil-sag *ù-mu*]-*un La-ra-ag-ga*. Here in Larag Ishtar, as “bride” of *Pabilsag-Dumuzi*, was known by the name *Gashan-úsh-te gashan UD-UD-ag<sup>ki</sup>-ge*. *R. H.*, 93 : 11; 94 : 11; 89 : 14.

<sup>6</sup> *C. T.*, XXV, 13 : 33, <sup>d</sup>Pa-bil-sag |  (= <sup>d</sup>Nin-ib).

<sup>7</sup> *C. T.*, XXV, 13 : 35. Cf. *C. T.*, XXIV, 49a : 2 = XXV, 1 : 12, <sup>d</sup>Gú-an-ni-si-il *gu-an-ni-si-il-shù*  (= <sup>d</sup>á-ra-ash *IB*, i. e., *Ninib*), here followed by his wife (*dam-bi-sal*) <sup>d</sup>Nin-uru, for which see above, p. 8 note 1.

<sup>8</sup> *F. A. B.*, IV, p. 234 : 19, *dan-dan-nu* <sup>d</sup>En-lil *ir-gi-tim*.

<sup>9</sup> With this name cf. <sup>d</sup>Ír-ra-gal's well-known attribute, appearing under the following forms:

- gú-á-nu-sá*, *R. H.*, p. 86 : 58; p. 138 : 83;
- kú-a-nu-si*, Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 16, no. 11, col. III : 7, which in the parallel passage appears as
- gu-si-sa*, *C. B. M.* 112 : 8. This title is given also to <sup>d</sup>Umun-Iri-gal, *l. c.*, l. 7, and is apparently a variant of Nergal's attribute:
- gú-si-sá*, *R. H.*, p. 19 : 43; p. 22 : 44; Böllenrücher, *Nergal*, p. 31 : 7. Cf. here also the name of the second month Ijjar : <sup>úu</sup> *Gu(d)* (*Gú, Gu*)-*si-sá* (*si, su*) and the other attribute of Nergal, mentioned immediately before <sup>d</sup>Ír-ra-gal, viz.:
- gu(d)-á-nun-gi(-a)*, *R. H.*, p. 19 : 52; p. 22 : 53; Böllenrücher, *Nergal*, p. 31 : 16, which in *R. H.*, p. 20 : 28/9 = 23 : 12/3, is translated by *gar-rad sha la im* (-*mah*)-*ha-ru(har)*, “the incomparable hero”; lit., “the ox whose strength is without comparison” (*nun-gi* = dissimilation by “n” for *nu-gi*).

is the wife also of <sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu,<sup>1</sup> who is identified with Ninib,<sup>2</sup> the Dumuzi of the Nippur trinity. Hence, <sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu is one of the several names of Dumuzi.<sup>3</sup>

Taking all of the above given passages into consideration, we may safely conclude the following:





a) *Gù-an-ni-si* was originally a temple at Erech where the goddess *Gashan-an* played the rôle of Ishtar, the "Mother" and "bride" of the "Son" Enlil.

b) Later on *Gù-an-ni-si* became the name of the temple of each and every goddess who was looked upon as the Ishtar of a certain trinity in a particular locality.

c) As the netherworld is merely a reflex of the macro- and micro-cosmos, *Gù-an-ni-si* became, like *Gi-gùn*, *Iri-gal*, *É-gi(d)-da*, a name for "netherworld", hence the addition *dib-ba* in our passage. This "netherworld", like its prototype Erech, was divided into "seven divisions". Each division was surrounded by a wall with two gates (one in the west and one in the east), presided over by two gate-openers (*ni-dû*), one of whom stood at the outside and one at the inside of the gate. Each of these "seven divisions" had also a "watch-dog": "the seven dogs of Gula", which in the Greek mythology became the "dog with the 'seven heads'": "*Kerberos*".<sup>4</sup> Ishtar (*Venus*), being the goddess of the *Gù-an-ni-si*, had, therefore, to become also the goddess of the "netherworld": *Ereshkigal*, *Proserpina*. The same is true, of course, also of Dumuzi, "the lord of the Aralli".

d) Seeing that *gù-si* changes with *gù-si-il*, the phonetic writing for *gù-sil* = *dalâlu*, *mudallu*, and that *gù-sil* is a variant also of *gù-zal(za-al)*<sup>5</sup> = *dalâlu*, *mudallu*, *tashiltu*, we may be justified in seeing in the *É-Gù-an-ni-si* a name signifying "temple of the heavenly rejoicing", i. e., of the joys and pleasures which reach unto the heavens (*an-ni*). These

<sup>1</sup> C. T., XVI, 46: 166, <sup>d</sup>Eresh-ki-gal dam <sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu-ge = <sup>d</sup>Y<sup>Y</sup> alti <sup>d</sup>Y<sup>Y</sup>; cf. l. c., 10: 37 with 50: 8, 9.

<sup>2</sup> C. T., XXV, 8a: 13, <sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu | <sup>d</sup>Nin-ib, followed by <sup>d</sup>NIN--da | <sup>d</sup>Gu-la, who was, under the name <sup>d</sup>En-á-nun, as we saw above, the "mother of the *Gù-an-ni-si*" and the "mother of the ". The  here is in all probability a variant or mistake for , see II R., 59, Rev., 34, 35:




<sup>d</sup>Umun-a-zu | <sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu | *shu-ma*


<sup>d</sup>Gashan-gir(i)-da | <sup>d</sup>NIN-gir(i)-da | *dam-bi-sal* (his wife).

For the pronunciation of <sup>d</sup>NIN-gir(i)-da see the gloss *ni-gi-ri(ir?)-da* in C. T., XXV, 5: 34/5. Notice also that in II R., 59, Rev., 33, Ereshkigal precedes <sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu, while in C. T., XXV, 8a: 8, 9, she and her husband <sup>d</sup>Gù-gal-an-na appear among Ninib-Gula names. Cf. lastly, C. T., XXV, 8a: 7, <sup>d</sup>Nin-zu <sup>d</sup>A-zu | <sup>d</sup>Gu-la, and for <sup>d</sup>NIN-zu, see l. c., 4: 3 = XXIV, 47a: 27.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *a-dan ur-sag* <sup>d</sup>Umun-a-zu, IV R., 30, no. 2, Obv. 13; Rev. 1 = R. II., p. 67: 12 (here written *Umun-A-zu*) = Zimmern, S. B. T., no. 1; IV R., 27, no. 1, add. p. 6a: 4 = Zimmern, l. c., no. 3.

<sup>4</sup> The prototype of the Greek Kerberos we must now recognize in the "dog of Gula", so often pictured on the Babylonian boundary-stones. Cf. also Scheil, *Fouilles à Sippar*, p. 90, fig. 13, where a terra cotta dog, presented to Gula, bears the following inscription: *ana* <sup>d</sup>Me-me (= <sup>d</sup>Gu-la) *bêlti kalbi hašbi êpushma aqîsh* (l. c., p. 92).

<sup>5</sup> It seems that the sign *NI* = *zal* had in Sumerian also the value *sî* — a conclusion justified, perhaps, by a comparison of the writings <sup>d</sup>Gu-sha-an-  (= *sim*)-mu = <sup>d</sup>Nin- (*sig, sim*), II R., 59: 27 = C. T., XXV, 43a: 1 (preceded by <sup>d</sup>Umun(Nin)-NINDA-GUD), with that of *Ni-in-NI-im-ma* in C. B. M. 112: 9 (preceded by <sup>d</sup>Ir-ra-gal). Or is *Ni-in-NI-im-ma* = *Nin-NIM-ma*, "the mistress of 'Elam'", in the sense of "netherworld" (see p. 25)?

joys and pleasures are those which Dumuzi and Gashan-anna experience in the "bridal-chamber" (*Gù-an-ni-si* = ) when they, like Nergal and Ereshkigal, are joined in happy wedlock.

Another song of this tablet, beginning with col. II : 12 ff., pictures Ishtar, the "bride", bewailing her "beloved" Dumuzi. This song consisted originally of more than five stanzas of four lines each; each stanza being introduced by:

*sha(b)-mu gi-er-ra edin-na*                      *na-mu-un-ma-al*, col. II : 3, 7, 11, 15, 19.

Col. II, ll. 12—14, 16—18 are repeated, with slight variants, in col. III : 15—20.

On account of the various linguistic difficulties as well as the many new and interesting names for "netherworld", to be encountered in this song, it would seem most desirable that the notes and explanations should precede the transcription and translation.

Col. II : 3. *GI-ER-RA*, a liturgical note, being, therefore, omitted in ll. 7, 11, 15, 19, is according to IV *R.*<sup>2</sup>, 11 : 27/8 *a* = *ina qa-an bi-ki-ti*, "upon the flute of wailing". But cf. *gi-er-ra...mä*, "to cry out in wailing (weeping)", *H. A. V.*, p. 438, no. 3 : 24—26; *gi-er-ra...su(g)*, "to be bathed in tears", "*in Tränen gebadet sein (erêshu)*", no. 6, I : 1, 10. — In *H. A. V.*, p. 382, note 1, we find a *gi-er-ra* with the Semitic ending *ânu*: *gi-er-ra-an-um-ma*, which paraphrases the Sum. *balag* = *širhu*, while the *gi(a)rrânu* of Br. 11607/8 translates the Sum. *er*. *Er* is also = *takkaltu*, "wailing", which sometimes is represented by the Sum. *gi-sir* (= *DI*), the syn. of *gi-sir* (= *BU*) = *malîlu* (root *elêlu*), "flute of wailing". This shows that *gi-er-ra* is = *er-ra*, just as *gi-sir(sir)* is = *sir*, *sîr*, *sîr*, the syn. of *er* — all with the meaning "to wail, to weep", which wailing, weeping, at the time of the Sumerian lenten festival, was in all probability generally accompanied by tunes upon a flute (*gi*). For *gi-er-ra...ma-al* = *er...ma-al*, see also *R. H.*, p. 101 : 51 = 116 (no. 63) : 4, *LIT-e edin-na-na er-gi(g) mu-un-ma-al* = *lit-tum ana bîti-shu mar-ši-ish i-bak-ki*.

For other liturgical notes, occurring in these texts, cf. *balag-sîr*, no. 2 : 39; *H. A. V.*, p. 383, note 4; Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 22, no. 25, III : 15, 17, 25, 39; p. 47, no. 51 : 9b (*ba-la-ág-sîr*); but especially the Semitic *ka-lu-shu-nu i-za-ma-ru*, "all of them shall sing", no. 19 : 24. The expressions *e-la-lu*, *ù-li-li*, *ul-li-esh* = *ina lal-la-ra-a-ti(tam)*, found either at the end (so generally), middle (Zimmern, *l. c.*, p. 53, no. 67 : 5a), or beginning of a line (*R. H.*, p. 118 : 36) is in many cases a liturgical note likewise.

*NA-MU-UN-MA-AL* = *na-mu-ma-al*, ll. 7, 8, 9, 11 = *na-mu*, l. 19, and omitted altogether in l. 15. According to *R. H.*, p. 101 : 51 (see above), we might be tempted to read *edin-na-na* = *ana bîti-shu*, but ll. 15, 8, 9, are clearly against it. For such an emphatic *na*, cf. Gudea, St. B., VII : 4, *na-mu-dû*, "for him he built" (see Thureau-Dangin, *Z. A.*, XVIII, p. 126, note 6); Cyl. A, VII : 30, *na-ni-tu(r)*, "to him he brought"; *C. T.*, XV, 26 : 1, 2, 6—8, *i-dîb na-àm-ir-ra*, "in wailing for (on account of) him she breaks out"; *R. H.*, p. 95 : 29, 31, *nam-mi-gub* = *i-za-az-ma*, here *na-àm*, *nam* is = *na-mu*; cf. also



Zimmern, *l. c.*, p. 45, no. 45 : 3c, ff. The “*n*” in *mu-un* is reflexive: “*ich ergehe mich in, quüle mich ab mit Klagen (Weinen) um ihn*”, i. e., “I wail, weep for ‘my beloved’ who is in the *edin*”.

*SHA(B)-MU*, lit. “my heart”, is a term of endearment, being applicable to both Dumuzi (so here) and Ishtar; cf. *N. F.*, AO 4328, Rev. (see also Thureau-Dangin, *l. c.*, p. 200, note 1), where <sup>d</sup>*Ba-u*, the Ishtar of the Girsu trinity, is called *sha(b)-mu*, “my beloved”. — A translation: “My heart in wailing towards the desert for him cries out”, though *per se* possible, makes, however, the *mèn* in ll. 4—6 rather difficult to explain. I have taken *sha(b)-mu*, because dependent on the “*a*” of the verbal prefix “*na*”, as the “object for whom or on account of whom” Ishtar, the subject (*mèn*), cries out. *Sha(b)-mu na-mu-un-ma-al* is = *sha(b)-mà mu-un-ma-al*.

*EDIN* in the Dumuzi texts signifies always the “desert” in the sense of “netherworld”; cf. *C. T.*, XV, 19 : 29, *edin A-ra-li*, “the netherworld A.”; Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 26, no. 31 : 32b, *A-ra-li edin da-mà-la*, “A., the extended netherworld”.<sup>1</sup> Dumuzi is the *mulu edin*,<sup>2</sup> *C. T.*, XV, 19 : 6 — a title generally rendered by *be-el ši-rim*, “lord of the desert”, and ascribed to the son<sup>3</sup> of <sup>d</sup>*Utu*, <sup>d</sup>*Sumug(g)a(n)* (= *GĪR*),<sup>4</sup> in the rôle of Nergal<sup>5</sup> as the Dumuzi of the netherworld. Nergal, therefore, appears quite frequently as the <sup>d</sup>*Lugal-edin-na*, “king of the netherworld”.<sup>6</sup> An <sup>d</sup>*En-edin-na*,<sup>7</sup> “lord of the netherworld” is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the *É(Á)-gù(d)-da*, above, p. 12, note 5.

<sup>2</sup> If my interpretation of this term in this particular passage be correct, it would follow that it cannot refer here to a certain “demon”, but must have been ascribed to Dumuzi himself, as is clearly indicated by the *dumu* of l. 4. But if so, then all the other parallel expressions must refer to Dumuzi likewise. These are:

a) *mulu gù-ba-ra*, ll. 8, 15. Thus we have to read, not *ka-ba-ra*. *Gù-ba-ra* is evidently a variant of *gù-bar* = *šêrum*, “desert, netherworld”, Br. 3239/40. Cf. here the <sup>d</sup>*Gù-ba-ra* = *Ash-ra-tum* | *Gashan-gù-edin(-na-ge)* = *be-lit ši-[e-rim]* of *R. H.*, p. 87: 29; 92: 18; 135, 111: 18; 139: 143/4; and the *Gù-bar-ra* = <sup>d</sup>*Ash-rat* of *Z. A.*, VI, p. 241: 9, where *gù-ba(bar)-ra* is = *gù-gedin* = *šêrum*. Dumuzi as the *mulu gù-ba-ra* becomes in this wise the “lord of the ‘strange (bar) shores’” (land, city, house: *gù* = *kishâdu*, *mātu*, *âlu*, *bîtu*) — a most important designation, showing that the netherworld bordered on or was surrounded by “water”. “Strange” were these shores, because “far distant” (like the “Westland”: <sup>d</sup>*MAR-TU* = *Dumuzi*) or “unknown”, “harmful” to man.

b) *mulu ka-âsh-ka-sa*, ll. 10, 16, “the overpowerer”, sc. of the *kur* or “netherworld”; cf. *H. A. V.*, p. 441, note 5. Dumuzi by rising again at the time of the vernal equinox demonstrates that he has overcome the winter, the cold, the north or netherworld.







c) *mulu hùl-gál*, ll. 12, 17, “the distressed” or possibly “evil one”, so called because Dumuzi, like Nergal, is the god of death, who suffered death and hence, brings into death or “satiates himself with death”, i. e., who causes the barrenness of nature.

<sup>3</sup> *C. T.*, XXIV, 32: 112.

<sup>4</sup> *R. H.*, pp. 87: 25; 92: 14; 135, 11: 12/3; 139: 135/6. Notice also that in *C. T.*, XXIX, 46: 8, <sup>d</sup>*Sumug(g)a(n)* is mentioned immediately after <sup>d</sup>*Dumu-zi* <sup>d</sup>*Sib*, “the shepherd”.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Br. 9190, <sup>d</sup>*Gir* = <sup>d</sup>*U-gur* (Nergal).

<sup>6</sup> *C. T.*, XXV, 35b: 8 = 36b, 1: 14. Cf. here also *H. A. V.*, p. 430, where it should have been noticed,

a) that the <sup>d</sup>*Galu(Mulu)*  (= *rû*, not *lâl*), which is only another name for <sup>d</sup>*Lugal-edin-na*, is a graphic variant for <sup>d</sup>*Galu(Mulu)*  (= *rû*); cf. <sup>d</sup>*A<sup>6</sup>-ru(m)* . *C. T.*, XXIV, 17: 58 (cf. 59) = <sup>d</sup>*A-rû*, *l. c.*, 29: 105 (cf. 106); <sup>d</sup>*A-rû*, *C. T.*, XXIV, 29: 106 = <sup>d</sup> (sic! mistake for  = *Ur?*)-*A* , *l. c.*, 17: 59. See also *EDIN* = *ru-u* = *dashâpu sha dishpi*, Br. 1426.

b) that in *V R.*, 46, no. 1: 22, <sup>mul</sup>*Mulu-rû* u <sup>d</sup>*La-ta-rag* = <sup>d</sup>*XXX* u <sup>d</sup>*U-gur*, the sign *rû* looks much rather like *EDIN* than like *rû*. We ought to read here <sup>mul</sup>*Mulu-edin*, “star of the lord of the netherworld”.

<sup>7</sup> He is preceded by <sup>d</sup>*Sig-za-gin[na]*, “the goddess of the shining, bright, glorious walls” (cf. the seven walls

mentioned in *C. T.*, XXV, 46h : 3, but it is not evident to what particular god this name refers.

The "Mistress of the netherworld", <sup>d</sup>Nin-edin, is the *sha-suk-kat* of "heaven and earth" (*AN u KI-tim*)<sup>1</sup> or of "the great gods" (*ilâni rabûti*)<sup>2</sup>, and the "scribe of the netherworld" (*ki*),<sup>3</sup> being identified with:

a) the "goddess of the strange shores", <sup>d</sup>Gû-ba(bar)-ra or also called *Gashan-gû-edin*,<sup>4</sup> the wife of <sup>d</sup>Mulu(*Gal*u)-har-sag = <sup>d</sup>MAR-TU,<sup>5</sup> the well-known god of the "Westland";

b) the <sup>d</sup>Mu(*sh*)-tin(-an-na) = <sup>d</sup>Geshtin(-an-na),<sup>6</sup> the "sister" of Dumuzi,<sup>7</sup> who is likewise the "mistress of scribes" (*ga-sha-an dub-sar-ge*)<sup>8</sup> or the "sublime scribe of the netherworld" (*dub-sar-mah* [*É-kur-idim-ge*]),<sup>9</sup> and who in our text (col. II : 6) appears as the goddess of the "house of the 'youthful one of An'" (*É-kal-an-na*), *i. e.*, of the "house of Dumuzi",<sup>10</sup> the netherworld; hence, the netherworld is called also <sup>d</sup>Geshtin-an-na-ge *edin-na*<sup>11</sup>, "G's desert".

The "Ishtar of the netherworld", <sup>d</sup>Innanna-edin, *i. e.*, the later Proserpina, is mentioned already in Hilprecht, *O. B. I.*, no. 94 : 1. A <sup>d</sup>Be-lit-edin occurs also in II *R.*, 60 : 16a, but from the arrangement of this tablet it is not certain who is meant here.<sup>12</sup>

Lastly, there appears in Zimmern, *Shurpu*, VIII, p. 40 : 7, a <sup>d</sup>Zi-za-nu<sup>13</sup> who is called *shar-rat ep-ri be-lit še-ri be-lit gab-li*, "queen of the (place of) dust, mistress of the netherworld, mistress of battle".

of Erech and of the netherworld) = <sup>d</sup>Be-lit-i-li, *C. T.*, XXIV, 6: 16 = <sup>d</sup>Mah, *l. c.*, 22: 114; and followed by <sup>d</sup>RA-RI-IM-[.].

<sup>1</sup> Zimmern, *Rituall.*, p. 118: 36; Craig, *R. T.*, I, p. 64: 36.

<sup>2</sup> Sm. 802 = Meissner, *Suppl.*, p. 96.

<sup>3</sup> Ungnad, *Gilgamesh*, p. 22: 52.





<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 17, note 2.

<sup>5</sup> II *R.*, 59, Rev., 43. For the god of the Westland in the rôle of Dumuzi, see above, p. 13, note 1.

<sup>6</sup> II *R.*, 59, Rev., 10, 11: here mentioned immediately after <sup>d</sup>Ši-ir-tur = <sup>d</sup>Sir-DU, the mother (*ama*) of Dumuzi.

<sup>7</sup> *C. T.*, XV, 20: 21, <sup>d</sup>Mu(*sh*)-tin-an-na *SAL-KU* (= *aḫat*, see above, p. 4, note 1) *ù-mu-un-na-ge*, "M., the sister of the 'lord'", *i. e.*, Dumuzi; cf. also the name of Dumuzi: *ses ama Mu(sh)-tin-na*, "brother of the mother M.", no. 6, I: 9, and Zimmern, *B. G. T.*, p. 707, 13.


<sup>8</sup> *H. A. V.*, p. 375, note 1; *B. E.*, XXIX, p. 54, note 1.

<sup>9</sup> *C. T.*, XVI, 9b: 4, <sup>d</sup>Nin- ( = , *geshtin*, see Zimmern, *B. G. T.*, p. 14, note 4) *-na dub-sar mah* [...]. If we compare this passage with *C. T.*, XVI, 3: 95/7, <sup>d</sup>Nin(-na)-an-na *dub-sar-mah É-kur-idim-ge* = <sup>d</sup> *dub-sar-ra-tum(rat) šir-tum(tam) sha A-ra-al-li-e*, we will have to admit that the <sup>d</sup>Nin-edin, who is identified with the wife of the god of the Westland (above under a) and with <sup>d</sup>Geshtinna, is also = <sup>d</sup>Nin-anna, the Ishtar, "mother", "bride" and "sister" of Dumuzi.

<sup>10</sup> See also below, p. 19.

<sup>11</sup> *C. T.*, XV, 19: 27.

<sup>12</sup> *I. e.*, whether l. 15 b, *lugal sha Mâ-rîki*, or l. 16b, *lugal sha Du-ni-sa-i-di<sup>ki</sup>*, or l. 17b, *shar-rat Gimil-Sin(En-zu)-na<sup>ki</sup>* explains l. 16a.

<sup>13</sup> This <sup>d</sup>Zi-za-nu is according to *C. T.*, XXV, 11: 35, a name also of <sup>d</sup>Nin-ib *ina SU<sup>ki</sup>*; cf. also *C. T.*, XXV, 6: 13, <sup>d</sup>Zi-za-nu  *dumu-a-ni* (*i. e.*, the son of the *gu(d)-balag* <sup>d</sup>KA-DI-ge, l. 12). <sup>d</sup>Zizanu, then, like Ninib (*H. A. V.*, p. 424, and references there given), was a male and female divinity; both also were the gods of the "netherworld". (= *kur*), which in *SU<sup>ki</sup>* was called *zizan(u)*.

This *edin*, though originally = "desert" or "netherworld", is very often translated by *bîtu*,<sup>1</sup> i. e., "the house" *par excellence*, the "house", "abode", where Dumuzi lives;<sup>2</sup> but according to M. 3292, the *bît* <sup>d</sup>*Dumuzi* is a syn. of *iri-gal* or "great abode",<sup>3</sup> of *qabru* or "grave" (M. 3293), of *iršitim* or "netherworld" (M. 3291), and even of *A-ra-li* (M. 3290). Dumuzi, therefore, must not only be identified with the *Umun-iri-gal*, "the lord of the great abode", or with <sup>d</sup>*En-ki*,<sup>4</sup> "the lord of the netherworld", but he may and actually does appear in our texts as the *Û-mu-un(-e) A-ra-li*, "the lord of the A."<sup>5</sup> There seems to have been, however, in this *edin* a special "house", or "temple", or "palace", which served as a habitation for Dumuzi while in the netherworld, and which was patterned after some terrestrial prototype. This conclusion is justified not only from the occurrence of such names as *Ê-edin-na*<sup>6</sup> or *Ê-gal-edin-na*,<sup>7</sup> but more particularly from the fact that according to *B. E.*, XXVII, no. 1, IV : 40, Dumuzi is said to be the <sup>d</sup>*Ligir(Mer)-si*,<sup>8</sup> i. e., "the glorious bridegroom", of the *Ê-A-ra-li*; cf. also II *R.*, 61 : 14, where the *Ê-edin-na* appears as the *Ê-52 sha (Z)Arar<sup>ki</sup>*, i. e., as the "52<sup>nd</sup> name of the 'temple of Larsa'" — a passage which shows that the "house of the netherworld" was in all probability patterned after the temple of Larsa, where Shamash (or his son <sup>d</sup>*Sumug(g)a(n)*) played the rôle of Dumuzi.

The *place* where this *edin* was considered to be situated was the *northern* part of Babylonia; hence, the "netherworld" appears in the Dumuzi texts as the *edin(-na) A-HA<sup>ki</sup>-ge*<sup>9</sup> = *ši-e-ri (ši-ir) Shu(Su)-'a-ra*.<sup>10</sup> But the *northern* part of Babylonia served merely as the prototype or pattern of the *north* of the macro-cosmos. The netherworld, therefore, as a macro-cosmic quantity must be sought in the *north*, the region of the *cold*, the *winter*. In the *winter*, then, Dumuzi is in the *netherworld*.

The *edin A-HA<sup>ki</sup>* appears as *edin HA-A* in another<sup>11</sup> Dumuzi text which is of the utmost importance for both the history and the religion of ancient Babylonia — for the history, because it helps us to supply the missing names in the list of Isin kings, published by Hil-

<sup>1</sup> M. 3048.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. here the *Ê-kal-an-na*, above, p. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, p. 12, note 5.

<sup>4</sup> *C. T.*, XXIV, 3: 29 = 21 a: 62, i. e., with <sup>d</sup>*En-ki* as one of the *42-ám en ama-a-a* <sup>d</sup>*En-lil-lá-ge-ne*, or with <sup>d</sup>*Enlil* in the rôle of Dumuzi as the "lord (*en*) of the netherworld (*ki*)". For this <sup>d</sup>*En-ki* (not = <sup>d</sup>*Ea*!) see for the present Zimmern, *Götterliste An*, p. 88.

<sup>5</sup> No. 12: 29; no. 6, 1: 4; cf. also no. 2: 36.

<sup>6</sup> II *R.*, 61, no. 2: 14 b.

<sup>7</sup> K. 246 (= *A. S. K. T.*, p. 82), II: 12/3; see also Delitzsch, *H. W. B.*, p. 467 a, under *namû*, and cf. below, p. 25, note 6.

<sup>8</sup> See also *C. T.*, XVII, 10: 74/5, <sup>d</sup>*En-ligir(mer)-si* = <sup>d</sup>*Dumu-zi*; II *R.*, 59, Rev., 8, <sup>d</sup>*Umun-li-bi-ir-si* = <sup>d</sup>*En-ligir(mer)-si* = <sup>d</sup>*Dumu-zi*, and cf. Zimmern, *B. G. T.*, p. 8, no. 3. Cf. also the <sup>d</sup>*En-gir-si-ge*, IV *R.*, 27: 45 b.

<sup>9</sup> To be read *Tuba<sup>ki</sup>*, see M. 8994.

<sup>10</sup> Macmillan, *B. A.*, V, p. 675: 25/6 = *R. H.*, p. 126 (no. 86): 8/9, here mentioned after [*Ê-banda(da)*] *kur a-she-ir-ra-ge* = *ir-ši-tim ta-ni-ki*, "the house of the valiant one", the land where one cries out: 'Alas!', II. 21/2; and [...] *ûru kal-tur-ra-ge* = *a-al ba-tu-lim*, "the abode (city) of the 'youthful one'", II. 23/4.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. also no. 1; III: 13, *edin HA-[A]*.

precht in *B. E.*, XX. part 1, p. 46; and for the religion, because it furnishes us with a number of new and highly interesting, descriptive names for the Sumerian netherworld. For these reasons I may be permitted to give the text in transcription and translation here. The same reads:

Zimmern, <i>S. K.</i> , pp. 28/9, no. 26, VI: 24—VII: 27,	
VI: 24[.....	] <i>ám-na(d)-a-ba</i>
With.....	I will lie down (rest),
25. <i>A-ra-[li</i>	] [ <i>du(l)-shù(b)-ba</i> ]- <i>ka</i>
(With him) of the 'Arali',	the 'beautiful mountain' (or mountain of the beautiful one);
26. <i>mu-tan-n[a-m]u</i>	<i>ám-na(d)-a-ba</i>
With my 'husband'	I will lie down,
27. [.....	[.....]- <i>dú(g)-a-ka</i>
(With him) of the .....	..... ;
28. <i>kal(?) [sir-an-n]a-mu</i>	<i>ám-na(d)-a-ba</i>
With my 'heavenly woe-man'	I will lie down,
29. <i>É-banda(da)</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>kur a-she-ir-ra-ka</i>
(With him) of the 'house of the valiant one',	the 'land where one cries out: Alas'!
30. <i>dumu Û-mu-un-mu(sh)-zi-da</i>	<i>ám-na(d)-a-ba</i>
With the 'Son of Ningishzida'	I will lie down,
31. <i>e-TUM-ma-al-la(lá?)</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>har-ra-an</i> <sup>gish</sup> <i>ginar-ra-ka</i>
(With him) of the 'house(?) of <i>Tummal</i> ',	where to leads a (difficult) (wagon-) road;
32. <i>KA-DI i-bi-shùb</i>	<i>ám-na(d)-a-ba</i>
With <i>KA-DI</i> , the one with 'beau- tiful eyes (face)'	I will lie down,
33. <i>GAM-GAM</i> <sup>3</sup> - <i>da</i>	<i>edin HA-A-ka</i>
(With him) who has been 'snatched away'	to the 'HA-A desert';

<sup>1</sup> For the Semitic translation of this line, see above, p. 19, note 10. Cf. also col. VII: 12. In *B. E.*, XXVII, no. 1, IV: 22 (cf. l. 15) there occurs an *É-dNin-gish-zi-da É(Gish?)-banda(da)*<sup>ki</sup>. The *É-banda*(<sup>ki</sup>), though originally a city of Babylonia with Ningishzida as its god, is used here, like Kutha, as a term for "netherworld". "He of the 'house of the valiant one'" is Dumuzi as the "son of Ningishzida", see l. 30.

<sup>2</sup> This line corresponds to *B. A.*, V, p. 674: 13, which has to be emended accordingly. The second half of our line has in l. c. a double translation: *ur-ḫi shum-ru-ṣi ú-ru-uḫ nar-kab-tim*; Zimmern, *S. B. T.*, p. 217, "schmerzlicher Weg, Weg des Wagens". With *e-TUM-ma-al* cf. the goddess *d salKU-gi*. *TUM-ma-al* = *dNin-lil*, *C. T.*, XXIV, 5: 8, and the proper name *Ur-TUM-al*, *B. E.*, III, part 1, nos. 88: 5; 111: 6.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. col. II: 1 and *B. A.*, V, p. 675: 25, [*GAM-GAM-da*] *edin(-na) A-ḪA*<sup>ki</sup>-*ge* = *a-na ṣi-e-ri(ṣi-ir) Shu(Su)-'a-ra*.

34. [*e-ib(ib)*]-*lá<sup>1</sup> gu-la-mu* *ám-na(d)-a-ba*  
 With my great 'girded one' I will lie down,
35. *É-sil-dū-a<sup>2</sup>* *zabar-tur-ra-ka*  
 (With him) of the *É-sil-dū-a*, the 'glorious youthful one';
36. [...]-*lá<sup>3</sup> ù-mu-un sa-pár* *ám-na(d)-a-ba*  
 With...-*la*, the 'lord of the net' I will lie down,
37. [*k*]-*sir-ra* *ki-mah er-ra-ka*  
 (With him) of the 'place of wailing', the 'sublime place of lamentations';
38. [*li-bi-i*]-*r ù-mu-un sub-bí* *ám-na(d)-a-ba*  
 With the 'bridegroom', the 'beautiful lord' I will lie down,
39. [.....] *-ba(ma?)* *sag-gi-a-ka*  
 (With him) of the ....., the one 'without equal';
40. [*sū*]-*el-ba* *ám-na(d)-a-ba*  
 With the 'most beautiful' one I will lie down,
41. [.....] *-e* *pisan-ka*  
 (With him) of the ....., the 'prison' (keeping-place);  
 Rest broken away.
- VII : 1 [*ù-mu-un Gimil-ili-shu*] *[ám-na(d)-a-ba]*  
 With the lord *Gimil-ili-shu* I will lie down,
2. *ki-mah ki-ù-mu-un<sup>4</sup> [-na]* *[.....]*  
 (With him) of the 'sublime place', ..... ;  
 the 'place of the lord',
3. *ù-mu-un I-din<sup>d</sup>Da-gan* *ám-n[a(d)-a-ba]*  
 With the lord *Idin-Dagan* I will lie down,
4. *<sup>gish</sup>SAR ní-te-na* *ba-an-gu(b)-[ba-a-ba]*  
 (With him) who in the 'awe-inspiring garden' (or garden of the fearful one) has taken up his abode;
5. *sib(?) Ish-me<sup>d</sup>Da-gan* *ám-na(d)-a-ba*  
 With the shepherd *Ishme-Dagan* I will lie down,

<sup>1</sup> Emended according to col. II: 2; col. V: 10.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. col. II: 3.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Zimmern, *S.K.*, p. 45, no. 45: 7a (6 c), ...-*la* (sic) *ù-mu-un sa-būr*, and especially *l. c.*, p. 30, no. 27, II: 3, *<sup>d</sup>Al(?)I?)la ù(!)-mu-un sa-būr*. Generally, however, *<sup>d</sup>NAGAR* precedes the *ù-mu-un sa-pár*, so *e. g.*, *l. c.*, p. 40, no. 35: 3a. The "*lá(la)*" would show that *NAGAR* had a pronunciation ending in "*-l*".

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the *ki-kal*, "place of the youthful one", parallel with *ki<sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi*, col. IV: 10, 11.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 6. <sup>gish</sup> SAR ni-te-na<br>(With him) who in the 'awe-in-<br>spiring garden' | ba-an-gu(b)-ba-a-ba<br>has taken up his abode;   |
| 7. sib(?) Li-bi-it-Ishtar(U-gín)<br>With the shepherd Libit-Ishtar                   | ám-na(d)-a-ba<br>I will lie down,  |
| 8. gab-kishib-ba <sup>1</sup><br>(With him) of (at) the 'breast of<br>the prison',   | ki-kush-shà(?) -a-ka-ka<br>the 'resting place';  |
| 9. sib(?) Ur- <sup>d</sup> Nin-ib<br>With the shepherd Ur-Ninib                      | ám-na(d)-a-ba<br>I will lie down,  |
| 10. ki-na(d) ši-ba<br>(With him) of the good 'bridal-<br>chamber',                   | ki-úr <sup>2</sup> ù-mu-un-na-ka<br>the "place of the 'bride of the lord'";                |
| 11. [si]b(?) Bur- <sup>d</sup> Sin(En-zu)<br>With the shepherd Bur-Sin               | ám-na(d)-a-ba<br>I will lie down,  |
| 12. [É-banda(da)]<br>(With him) of the 'house of the<br>valiant one',                | kur a-she-ir-ra-ka<br>the 'land where one cries out: Alas'!                                |
| 13. [.....]-di(ki?)-ta-AN(ili) <sup>3</sup><br>With .....                            | ám-na(d)-a-ba<br>I will lie down,  |
| 14. [.....]<br>(With him) of the .....,  | ] ki-sha(b)-she(d)-da-a-ka<br>the 'place where the heart comes to rest'<br>(or trembles?); |
| 15. [.....]-shi-ili(AN) <sup>4</sup><br>With .....                                   | ám-na(d)-a-ba<br>I will rest,  |
| 16. [.....]<br>(With him) of the .....,  | ] ki-sir-rá <sup>5</sup> -ka<br>the 'place of wailing';                                    |
| 17. [ù-mu-un <sup>d</sup> Sin-i-qi-sh]a-a <sup>6</sup><br>With the lord Sin-iqîsha   | ám-na(d)-a-ba<br>I will lie down,  |
| 18. [.....]  | ] [.....]-ka   |

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the *pisan*, above, p. 21 : 41, and the *gab kur-ra* = *i-rat ir-ši-tim*, "breast of the netherworld", col. IV : 3; IV R., 30, no. 2 : 22/3.

<sup>2</sup> For *úr* = *katāmu*, see II. A. V., p. 398; and for *ki-úr*, *l. c.*, p. 443, note 20.

<sup>3</sup> This king ought to correspond to Hilprecht's *I[-te-ir-K] A-[sh]á*, *B. E.*, XX, part 1, p. 46 : 15.

<sup>4</sup> These traces show that *dIrra(Ura)-imittim*, Hilprecht, *Z. A.*, XXI, pp. 20ff., cannot follow upon [..]-*dî* (*ki?*)-*ta-AN(ili)*.

<sup>5</sup> Or the "place of *Sir-DU*" ? Cf. *dŠi-ir-tur* = *dSir-DU*, the mother of Dumuzi, above, p. 18, note 6.

<sup>6</sup> See Poebel, *O. L. Z.*, 1907, Sp. 461 ff.

- |   |               |                 |
|---|---------------|-----------------|
| 19. [..... <sup>1</sup>                       | ]             | [á]m-na(d)-a-ba |
| 20. [.....                                    | ]             | [..... ]-ka     |
| 21. [.....                                    | ]             | ám-na(d)-a-ba   |
| 22. [.....                                    | ]             | [ši-ib-ba-]a-ba |
| 23. [.....                                    | ]             | ám-na(d)-a-ba   |
| 24. [.....                                    | ]             | ši-ib-ba-a-ba   |
| 25. [.....                                    | ]             | ám-na(d)-a-ba   |
| 26. [..... ]gish(?) AN-TU-[...]               | [..... ]-a-ba |                 |
| 27. [.....]-li(gub)-ba(?zu, ma?) <sup>2</sup> |               | á[m]-na(d)-a-ba |

From the above given translation it will be evident that I cannot agree with Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. VII, who thinks that “hier wird, nachdem vorher in Kol. VI der Gott Tamūz unter seinen verschiedenen Namen mit den Worten ‘warum (oder: bis wann?) ruht er?’ wiederholt angerufen worden war, ganz in der gleichen Weise diese Frage auch an die verstorbenen Könige von Isin, Idin-Dagan, Ishme-Dagan, Libit-Ishtar, Ur-Ninib, Bur-Sin usw. gerichtet. Es werden diese also sozusagen als Tamūze aufgefaßt, deren Wiedererstehen aus dem Grabe — man kann die Sache wohl kaum anders auffassen — man ebenso erhofft, wie man alljährlich die Wiederkehr des Tamūz aus der Unterwelt erwartet.”

On the contrary, Ishtar in the text quoted is apparently in the netherworld (*A-ra-li mu-un-tush*, col. VI : 20), here she wishes “to lie down” or “rest” — here in the netherworld which is the abode of Dumuzi and of the deceased kings of Isin. Apart from this, *EME-SAL* texts never mention the resurrection of Dumuzi — this is referred to in texts only which are written in the *EME-KU* dialect.

Seeing that the above quoted passage is in many respects similar to that of Macmillan, *B. A.*, V, p. 674, and *R. H.*, p. 126 (no. 80), as Zimmern already has pointed out, we may be justified in identifying the *edin* *HA-A* of Zimmern (col. VI : 33) with the *edin* *A-HA<sup>ki</sup>* of Macmillan, and this the more so as we find a similar interchange in the name *<sup>a</sup>Nin-A-HA-tar-rá(kud-du)*, so generally, which in *B. E.*, XXVII, no. 1, col. V : 4, 6, is written *<sup>a</sup>Nin-HA-A-tar-rá*. The “god of *HA-A<sup>ki</sup>-a*” was *<sup>a</sup>Siliq-galu-du(g)*<sup>3</sup>, i. e. Marduk, the “son of Ea (Eridu, the ocean)”, also called *<sup>a</sup>Dumu-zi-abzu*<sup>4</sup> or *<sup>a</sup>Dumu-zi dumu <sup>a</sup>É-a*.<sup>5</sup> In *R. H.*, p. 55 : 3—6, we have the following succession: *Úru-ši-ib* (= Eridu), *ésh-mah*, *ésh-abzu* (two temples of Eridu), *A-HA<sup>ki</sup>*, while in *C. T.* XVI, 6 : 239, *NUN<sup>ki</sup> A-HA<sup>ki</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> According to the analogy of the preceding arrangement of this tablet, we should expect in ll. 19, 21, 23, 25, 27, a name of a king, i. e., five kings; but according to the Hilprecht tablet there ought to follow six kings.

<sup>2</sup> These traces ought to correspond to *<sup>a</sup>Sin-ma-gir*; or is this [*Da-mi-iq-i*]-*li-shú*, the last of the Isin kings? If so, this hymn must have been composed after the time of the Isin dynasty.

<sup>3</sup> *B. E.*, XXVII, no. 1, III : 32.

<sup>4</sup> *C. T.*, XXIV, 16 : 30 (cf. 35) = 28 : 82a (cf. 84b).

<sup>5</sup> Pinches, *P. S. B. A.*, Feb. 1909, p. 62 : 11.

= *Eri-du(g) u Su-ba-ri* are mentioned together. Lastly, in *C. T.*, XV, 2 col. VIII : 2, 3, *Shu-mi-r[i-i-im]* is apparently in opposition to *Shu-ba-ru-ú-um*, standing in the same relation as "Shumer and Akkad" = *Ki-en-gi-ki-Uri* (*BUR-BUR*), for we read: *An-nu-um sha-al-la-at Shu-mi-r[i-i-im] e-li-ish a-a i-li-[u]*, *Shu-ba-ru-ú-um lu-ú ir-shi-it ka-za-zi-im-[ma] sha-at-ti-sha-am-ma Shu-mi-ru-um li-ik-ta-za-az-zi*, i. e., "O Anu, the booty of Shumer let them not bring up; let Shubaru (so with Hommel, *Grundriß*<sup>2</sup>, p. 252, note 1, against Winckler, *O. L. Z.*, 1907, Sp. 346, and Ungnad, *l. c.*, 1908, Sp. 67) be the goal of their ravaging; yea, let Shumer ravage it yearly".

Comparing these passages, we will have to admit that *A-ĤA* or *ĤA-A* became a designation for the "netherworld" simply and solely for the reason that it formed, like the later Akkad, the northern part of Babylonia, i. e., Mesopotamia. In the north, then, the Sumerian netherworld has to be sought. This north was the sphere of the "Son". The south and the north stand in the same relation as does "an" to "ki", *Eridu* to *Subari* (= *NUN<sup>ki</sup>* to *A-ĤA*), *Ea* to *Marduk* or the "Father" to the "Son".

There must have been, however, a time, when the city of Nergal, Kutha (*Gú-dū-a<sup>ki</sup>*), was Babylonia's north par excellence, becoming for this reason, like *A-ĤA* or *Ė(Gish?)-banda(da)<sup>ki</sup>*,<sup>1</sup> a designation of the "netherworld".

In fact, it seems not improbable that even *Gir-su<sup>ki</sup>*, more particularly in its older form *Su-gir<sup>ki</sup>*, formed at one period of the Sumerian history and religion the "north", with *Erech*<sup>2</sup> and *Eridu*<sup>3</sup> as well as *Nippur* as its opposite or "south". This conclusion may be inferred from the following considerations:

The older *Subaru* occurs in later inscriptions as *Subartu* — a word which renders the Sumerian *Su-EDIN<sup>ki</sup>* (Br. 198; M. 114) as well as *Su-gir<sup>ki</sup>* (Br. 234), which latter may very well be a variant of *Su-gir<sup>ki</sup>*<sup>4</sup>. If this be true, we may with Thureau-Dangin (*S. A. K. I.*, p. 268) and Winckler (*O. L. Z.*, June 1907, Sp. 284) assign to the sign *EDIN* the value *bir* (or possibly *bar*)<sup>5</sup>, which would be the regular *EME-SAL* form for the *EME-KU gir*, *gir*. This gives us the following development: *Su-gir (gir)* = *Su-bir (bar, ba-ri)* = *Su-vari* = *Su-'a-ri*<sup>6</sup> = *Shu-'a-ri*, originally Girsu, later on the whole of northern Babylonia. And if *Su-gir* be also = *Elamtu* or "Elam" (Br. 233), so is this development merely parallel

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 20, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Urukagina, *Olive A.*, 1—3, where Nin-Girsu and his wife Ba-ú, in the "temple of Erech (*Ė-Unu(g)ki-ga*)", pronounce good words for Urukagina.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Gudea, *Cyl. B.*, III : 9 = VIII : 15, *Nin-Gir-su NUN<sup>ki</sup>-ta gin-ám(ni)*; *Cyl. B.*, VIII : 13, *ur-sag* (i. e., Nin-Girsu) *NUN<sup>ki</sup>-shú gin-a-ni*. Notice also that Ur-Ba-u builds in Girsu a temple for "Ea, the king of Eridu", *Statue*, IV : 11 ff.

<sup>4</sup> For the interchange of *gir* and *gir*, cf. e. g., *Lugal-gir-ra*, Zimmern, *Rituall.*, p. 166 : 10, with *Lugal-gir-ra*, *l. c.*, II, 11/12; *gir* = *urĥu*, *padānu*, *lalaktu*, "way, street", with *gir* = *urĥu*, *urruĥu*. Cf. also *H. A. V.*, p. 308 : 12.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *gú-ba(bar)-ra* = *gú-edin* = *ġêrum*, above, p. 17, note 2.

<sup>6</sup> And possibly *Su-a-ri* = *Su-ri*, i. e., Σίροι, Σρία, cf. Zimmern, *S. B. T.*, p. 219, and references there given.



The above indicated development of the *northern* part of Babylonia, beginning with Nippur as its original center and later on gradually extending over *Su-g̃r* (Gir-su, Elam), Kutha, *A-HA* (Subaru, Akkad), Armenian mountains, Westland, until it bordered the Euphrates or the “sea of the going down of the sun” in the west, the Tigris in the east, and the lake of Urmia or the Van sea in the north, necessitated, of course, a revision of the primary conception of the Sumerian netherworld, which, like its terrestrial prototype, was henceforth considered

- Through this netherworld led a "wagon-road" (*har-ra-an* <sup>*gish*</sup>*qinar*)<sup>6</sup> or "street" (*sil*)<sup>7</sup>,

<sup>7</sup> Craig, *R. T.*, I, p. 57: 21, *dI-shum en sil*, "I, the lord of the 'street'"; IV *R.*, 21: 44a, *dI-shum sukal sil*, "I, the overseer of the 'street'". Cf. also *C. T.*, XXIV, 40: 74, *dPa* |  $\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{Y}}$  (= *dU-gur* = Nergal) *sha su-u-qi*, i. e., "Pa is the Nergal of the 'street'". For *dPa* as an abbreviation of *dPa-sag-gà* see below, p. 26, note 3; and for *dPa* = *dPa-bil-sag*, see *B. E.*, Series D, vol. VI, Table II, 9h; cf. also above, p. 14 and notes.

which was, like the *edin* itself, “wide” or “extended” (*damal*).<sup>1</sup> It was a “street of darkness” or “night” (*gi[g]*)<sup>2</sup>, a “street<sup>3</sup> full (*si-ga*, *sī(g)-ga* = *malū*) of wailing” (*a*)<sup>4</sup>, i. e., a street

<sup>1</sup> *R. H.*, p. 86 : 59 = 138 : 84, [<sup>d</sup>*Kal*]-*shū(g)-ga sil damal-la edin-na*, i. e., “the gracious (beautiful) *Kal*, (the god) of the wide street of the netherworld”.

<sup>2</sup> So in the variant to the preceding note, Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 16, no. 11, col. III : 8, <sup>d</sup>*Kal-shū(g)-ga sil-gi(g) edin-na*.

<sup>3</sup> *C. T.*, XVI, 15b : 21, <sup>d</sup>*Pa-sag-gà nimgir sil a-si(g)-ga* = <sup>d</sup>*I-shum na-gir su-qi sha-qu-um-mi*, “P., the overseer (guardian) of the street full of wailing”, or simply called *nimgir-gi(g)* = *na-gir mu-shi*, “overseer of the (place of) darkness”, *C. T.*, XVI, 49 : 304. Generally, however, <sup>d</sup>*Pa-sag-gà* is the *nimgir mashkim* (*PA-RIM*)-*maḥ dingir-ri-e-ne-ge* = <sup>d</sup>*I-shum na-gir ra-bi-ṣu ṣi-i-ru sha ANmēsh*, “the great overseer, the sublime *raḥiṣu* of the gods” (sc., of the netherworld or the “holy mountain”), *C. T.*, XVI, 46 : 178/9, et *passim*. The wife of <sup>d</sup>*Ishum* is <sup>d</sup>*Gashan* (*Nin*)-*mug*, II *R.*, 59, Rev., 41, here mentioned immediately after <sup>d</sup>*Umun*(*Lugal*)-*iri-a*, “the lord (king) of the abode where one cries out: ‘alas!’”

For <sup>d</sup>*Pa-sag-gà* as a name of Nergal, see e. g., *R. H.*, pp. 19 : 51; 25 : 52, 60 (here *li-bi-ir* <sup>d</sup>*Pa-sag-gà*); Böllenrueher, *Nergal*, p. 31 : 23; and for Nergal = <sup>d</sup>*Pa*, see above, p. 25, note 7); from this it follows that <sup>d</sup>*Pa* is an abbreviation of <sup>d</sup>*Pa-sag-gà*. Another abbreviation is <sup>d</sup>*Pa-sag*: cf. Gudea, Statue B, VIII : 63, where <sup>d</sup>*Pa-sag* is called the *nimgir kalam-ma-ge*, “overseer of Babylonia” — a most welcome corroboration of our contention that the *kalam* or “Babylonia” formed the prototype after which the netherworld or “place of darkness” with its street full of wailing was patterned. Notice also that Eannatum calls himself the *mu-pa(d)-da* of <sup>d</sup>*Pa-sag*, *St. Vult.*, Rev., VI : 4, or the *abaraku* (*iskim-ti(l)*) of <sup>d</sup>*Pa-sag*, *Feldst. A*, II : 11; *B*, II : 14.

The same attribute, viz., “god of the street full of wailing”, is ascribed also to <sup>d</sup>*Lugal*, see *C. T.*, XVI, 49 : 302, <sup>d</sup>*Lugal dingir sil a-si-ga-ge* = <sup>d</sup>*ilū su-qi sha-qu-um-me*.

This <sup>d</sup>*Pa* and <sup>d</sup>*Lugal*, although “one” — because they have the same attribute and functions — are yet “twins”, being identified with <sup>d</sup>*Utu* and <sup>d</sup>*IM*: cf. *C. T.*, XXIV, 18b : 10, <sup>d</sup>*She-na-i-la-na |* <sup>d</sup>*Pa u* <sup>d</sup>*Lugal* <sup>d</sup>*Utu u* <sup>d</sup>*IM*. They constitute also the “twin” stars of the <sup>mul</sup>*Saḥan*, the constellation of <sup>d</sup>*Eresh-ki-gal*. The significance of this <sup>mul</sup>*Saḥan* is indicated by Craig, *R. T.*, I, 58 : 11, where <sup>d</sup>*I-shum* (i. e., <sup>d</sup>*Pa-sag-gà* = <sup>d</sup>*Pa*) and <sup>d</sup>*Shu-bu-lá* are said to be the “gods” of the “Tigris” (<sup>d</sup>*Idigna*) and the “Euphrates” (<sup>d</sup>*Buranunu*), i. e., the constellation *Saḥan* or “serpent” is a “river” consisting of two arms: the “heavenly” Tigris and Euphrates, reflecting not only the “terrestrial” Tigris and Euphrates but also those of the “netherworld”, because <sup>mul</sup>*Saḥan* is the constellation of <sup>d</sup>*Ereshkigal*, “the queen of the netherworld” and “wife” of Nergal or <sup>d</sup>*Nin-a-zu* (*C. T.*, XVI, 46 : 166; cf. also *l. c.*, 10 : 37 with 50 : 8, 9), i. e., Dumuzi. Seeing, furthermore, that Nergal as well as <sup>d</sup>*Nin-a-zu* and Dumuzi are the “gods of the netherworld”, and that Nergal is identified not only with <sup>d</sup>*Pa* but also with <sup>d</sup>*Shu-bu-lá* (IV *R.*, 26 : 9a; *R. H.*, pp. 19, Rev., 5; 22 : 63), we may be justified in maintaining that the netherworld had indeed a “river”, an <sup>d</sup>*edin*. This conclusion is corroborated not only by:

a) *C. T.*, XXV, 11 : 18 = 15, II : 8, where the Dumuzi of the Nippur trinity, the god Ninib, “who guards the decisions of the father Enlil” (*naṣir ESH-BAR a-bi* <sup>d</sup>*En-lil*), is called <sup>d</sup>*HAL-HAL-la*, compared with “Syn-chronistic History” (= Winckler, *U. A. G.*, p. 184), col. I : 30, where the Tigris has the name <sup>d</sup>*HAL-HAL-la*, which in the parallel text, S. 2106 (= Winckler, *l. c.*, p. 152, 3a), Obv. l. 7, appears as <sup>d</sup>*HAL-HAL*, “river of the god *HAL-HAL*”; but also by

b) II *R.*, 50 : 11c, <sup>d</sup>*a-la-ad* <sup>d</sup>*shu-ba* <sup>d</sup>*I-shum* (followed in l. 12, by the <sup>d</sup>*shu-ba* <sup>d</sup>*Dumu-zi*), compared with *C. T.*, XXIV, 8 : 10, <sup>d</sup>*ilū (sic! mistake for ilū)-lad* <sup>d</sup>*shu*, i. e., the 2<sup>nd</sup> of the six *utug* of <sup>d</sup>*Ē-kur* or “netherworld”, followed by <sup>d</sup>*Sa-ha-an*. Cf. also II *R.*, 59 : 21, <sup>d</sup>*She-ra-aḥ |* <sup>d</sup>*Saḥan |* *utug* <sup>d</sup>*Ē-shar-ra-ge*; V *R.*, 52 : 19, 20, <sup>d</sup>*She-ra-aḥ utug* <sup>d</sup>*Ē-shar-ra* = <sup>d</sup>*Saḥan ra-bi-iṣ*; and for <sup>d</sup>*Saḥan* = <sup>d</sup>*SIL* (the “god of the ‘street’”, but who has to be read: *Kudmu*, M. 9936), the son of <sup>d</sup>*KA-DI* = Dumuzi, see *B. E.*, XVII, part. 1, p. 19, note 3.

Now, as <sup>d</sup>*Ishum* (= Alad = Ninib) is the god of the Tigris, it would follow that the <sup>d</sup>*Saḥan* must be the god of the Euphrates; hence, <sup>d</sup>*Sa-ha-an* = *Pu-rat-tu*, Br. 3168.

The netherworld, then, like its terrestrial and heavenly counterparts, had likewise a *Euphrates* (in the west) and a *Tigris* (in the east). When the gods entered or left the netherworld, they had to cross these rivers. This made “ships” necessary. Of such ships or boats we read repeatedly, cf. *H. A. V.*, 386 (here in connection with <sup>d</sup>*Am-an-ki* and <sup>d</sup>*Ishtar*); *C. T.*, XV, 17, the *má-gúr*, “boat”, “house-boat” (Hilprecht, *B. E.*, Series D, vol. V, part 1, pp. 52ff.) of god *Sin*. There had to be also a “ferry-man” (*má-láh*) or “men” who brought the ship with its occupants safely to the netherworld and back again. One of these ferry-men was the god of the city of Bas, <sup>d</sup>*GISH-A-TU-GAB-LISH*, who in Craig, *R. T.*, I, p. 56 : 16, is referred to as the *ra-kiḥ* <sup>d</sup>*li-na-shi* [...]. Cf. also *C. T.*, XXIV, 30 : 116, and the remarks and corrections to it suggested by Meissner in *O. L. Z.*, 1909, Sp. 202.

where every one who passed it cried out: "a", "a-a", "wa-wa", "ú-a", "a-ú-a", "a-dan"<sup>5</sup>, etc., "alas!" "how long still?" "when at last?"

This "street" led, no doubt, to the *É-edin* or the *É-gal-edin*<sup>6</sup>, which contained the "bridal chamber"<sup>7</sup> and which was reached<sup>8</sup>, in all probability, at the time of the winter solstice, in the "month of sowing" (*shu-numun-na*) or also called the "month of Tamuz" (*Du'-u-zu*, 𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎵), i. e. our December-January.

The *edin* was, of course, inhabited by all kinds of "living creatures"<sup>9</sup> — including

Dumuzi's leaving the netherworld, i. e., his resurrection, is indicated in the heavens by the sun crossing the equator at the time of the vernal equinox. At this time, then, Dumuzi had to cross the "river of the netherworld" (*Styx*) — an event which was symbolically re-enacted upon earth at the time of the New-Year or *Á-ki-ti* festival (which co-incided with the vernal equinox), when the gods were "conveyed" in "ships" from one temple (the "place of darkness") to another (the "place of light"). It may not be impossible that the Sumerians regarded the very "river" of the netherworld as the "street" which led to the "conflux" of the "rivers", where there was the "isle" of the "blessed".

<sup>4</sup> Literally "full of a", i. e., *aḫulap*, *adi mati*, "alas!" "how long still?" "when at last?" Thus I would prefer to explain this phrase, against Delitzsch, *H. W. B.*, p. 686 a, "*leidvolle Straße*", "*Leidensweg*", and Jensen, *K. B.*, VI<sup>1</sup>, p. 354, "*stille Straße*". Surely, the *a* cannot be connected with *sil*: this would be a grammatical impossibility. Against our explanation is by no means the fact that *sheg* (for *a-sheg*) = *shaqummatu*; or that *si(g)-si(g)-ga-bi* (for *a-si(g)-si(g)-ga-bi*) = *shaqummesh*. For such an omission of *a*, cf. *a-ri-a* = *ri-a*; *a-nim-ta* = *nim-ta*; *a-sig-ta* = *sig-ta*; *a-rá(ra)-zu* = *rá-zu*; *a-ah-dú(g)* = *ah-dú(g)*; *a-ú-a* = *ú-a*.

Cf. here also such names as *Nin-a-zu*, "the lord who knows (hears) the alas-criings" (so rather than "lord of healing"); *Lugal-iri-a*, "the king of the 'abode (full) of alas'", i. e., the netherworld; *Umun-É-a*, "the lord of the 'house (full) of alas'", *kur a-she-ir-ra*, the "land where one cries out (*she-ir* = *sir* = *šarāhu*): 'alas!'", etc., etc.

<sup>5</sup> This is the prototype of the Greek *Adōr(ē)* and of the Latin *Adon(is)*, see *B. E.*, Series D, vol. VI.

<sup>6</sup> See above, pp. 19 and 25, note 6.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. IV R., 27 (add. 6a), no. 1: 1, [*edin-na ú-sag-gà-ge dam-a-na*] *mu-un-na-an-[ti(g)-ga]* = [*ana bít u-suk-ki ana mu-u[s-sa i]-hu-u*], "to the abode of the 'bridegroom', to her husband (when) she (Ishtar) drew near". See also Zimmern, *S. B. T.*, p. 219, no. 3: 1, 2; *B. E.*, Series D, vol. V, part 2, p. 34, note 11.

<sup>8</sup> See above, p. 25.

<sup>9</sup> Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 58, no. 78, col. I: 34/35, where *DUN-PA-è-a* is called, *lum(?) an-edin damal-la, úg ni(g)-zi-gál edin-na*, i. e., "sheik ('old man') of the extended netherworld, lion of (among) the living creatures of the netherworld". Cf. here Gudea, *Cyl. B.*, IV: 20ff., *ur-mah-ug ushumgal edin-na-ka, ú-du(g) gar-ra-ám*, "(die Stadt war) wie der wilde Löwe, der Herr der 'Ebene', der sich niederlegt" (Th.-D.). Eannatum builds and dedicates to Nin-Girsu a canal, called *Ug-edin*, "lion of the desert". An *ug-gal an-edin-na* is mentioned also in *B. E.*, XXVII, no. 1, col. II: 34, in connection with the *Nin-ḫar-sag* of Kêsh; in *l. c.*, col. VI: 34ff., it is said of a temple *é ug-gal-dim su-lim gùr-ru*, [...] *an-edin-na úg-gi am(ne?)-è*, "the temple which like the great lion is full of splendor, which like the . . . of the *edin* shines".

With the *lum an-edin* cf. Str. 2105, where *An-gal Lum-lum-mu* is followed by *Gashan-Dúr-ilu<sup>ki</sup>*, thus showing that *Lum-lum-mu* is here an attribute of *An-gal* or *KA-DI*, the god of Dêr, and one of the wellknown names of Dumuzi, the *KA-DI i-bi-shùb-ba*, "K. of beautiful eyes or face", which latter is merely a variant of *i-bi-lum-lum ka-na-ág-gà*, "the beautiful or glorious lord of the land" (parallel with *ú-mu-un gír(ki-ri) ka-na-ág-gà*), *C. T.*, XV, 18: 14 = Zimmern, *S. B. T.*, no. 5; *S. K.*, p. 39, no. 34: 11a. Cf. also *l. c.*, p. 31, no. 27, Rev., V: 11ff., where Ishtar addresses Dumuzi:

<i>ses i-bi-lum-lum-mu</i>	<i>ses i-bi-lá-lá-mu</i>
<i>dam-zu a-ba-ám</i>	<i>mà-e dam-zu me-en</i>
<i>ama-zu a-ba-ám</i>	<i>mà-e ama-zu me-en</i> , i. e.,
"My most fascinating brother,	my most gracious brother,
"Thy wife, who is she?"	"I am thy wife!"
"Thy mother, who is she?"	"I am thy mother!"

See also Harper, "Letters", V, 438: 7, where the *Igi-DA-DA* (read *sīg-sīg*, Zimmern, *L. S. S.*, II<sup>1</sup>, p. 7, note 2, and cf. *C. T.*, XXIV, 3: 25 = 21a: 59, *Igi-sīg-sīg nu-gish-sar-gal An-na-ge*, "great gardner of An") is

gods<sup>1</sup>, kings<sup>2</sup>, men<sup>3</sup> and “beasts”<sup>4</sup> — of whom the <sup>d</sup>DUN-PA-è-a was the “lion” and the <sup>d</sup>Sumug(g)a(n) the “shepherd”.<sup>5</sup>

in parallelism with <sup>d</sup>Lum-lum, l. 12. [<sup>d</sup>L]um-ma appears also in the list of Dumuzi names, *C. T.*, XXIV, 9 : 13. In *C. T.*, XXIV, 6 : 18 = 22 : 116 = XXV, 28b : 3 (here with the gloss *ma!*), <sup>d</sup>Lum-ma is the first of the two (the other is <sup>d</sup>Ha-da-ni-ish) *utug É-kur-ra-ge*, i. e., of the “netherworld”. Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 16, no. 11, col. VI : 5, mentions *Ga-sha-an-dig-ga* (“mistress of the dead”) <sup>d</sup>Lum-ma *ur-sag*, for which the parallel passage, *R. H.*, p. 86 : 56 = 137 : 81, has *Gashan-sa*[...]*lum-ma ur-sag-gà*; here the *sa* is apparently the first part of *dig*, while the [...] has to be emended to *dig-ga* <sup>d</sup>Lum. IV *R.*, 52b : 48, enumerates <sup>d</sup>Ia-ab-ru <sup>d</sup>Lum-ma(?) <sup>d</sup>Ru-shu AN<sup>mēsh</sup> *shur-bu-tú*, “the fearful gods”. In Pinches, *P. S. B. A.*, 1909, pl. VI (p. 62) : 21, Dumuzi is asked to hand over the evil *ha-a-a-tu ana dan-ni* <sup>d</sup>Lum-ma *gâl-lá la ba-bil pa-ni*, “to the mighty L., the pitiless (?) Zimmern, *Zum Streit um die Christus-mythe*, p. 63: ‘der keine Verzeihung gewährt’) demon.” The *la ba-bil pa-ni* (cf. *B. E.*, XVII, p. 144, note 2) seems to explain here the *i-bi-lum-lum* (cf. *lum* = *babalu*); <sup>d</sup>Lum-ma, therefore, really stands for <sup>d</sup>Igi-lum-lum, i. e., the god who makes all eyes turn to him, and when once turned to him, they cannot be turned away from him, so fascinating is he. <sup>d</sup>Lum-ma, though = Dumuzi, is here differentiated from him and appears as one of his “powers” or “servants”. The “star Lum-ma” is <sup>d</sup>En-lil of *Shùbki*: *Nim-ma<sup>ki</sup>*, Pinches, *E. N.*, pl. XI : 11, 12.

<sup>1</sup> Among these gods, besides those already mentioned, may be enumerated:

a) the “twin-gods” (*i-lu ki-lal-la-an*) <sup>d</sup>KAL<sup>bi-ir-du</sup>*edin* | *bi-ir-du* and <sup>d</sup>KAL<sup>shar-ra-bu</sup>*edin* | *shar-ra-bu*, “the burner”, *C. T.*, XXV, 6 : 28, 23, 24 — two names by which <sup>d</sup>Mes-lam-ta-è-a and his father <sup>d</sup>Lugal-gir-ra or Nergal were known in *Mar<sup>ki</sup>*, see *C. T.*, XXV, 35b : 24/5 = 37a : 20/1 and 36b : 28—30. Cf. here the <sup>d</sup>She-na-i-la-na, i. e., <sup>d</sup>Pa and <sup>d</sup>Lugal = <sup>d</sup>Utu and <sup>d</sup>IM, above, p. 26, note 3. It may not be impossible that these twins have to be identified also with the <sup>d</sup>Kal-shá(g)-ga or <sup>d</sup>Kal-kal-shá(g)-ga or merely <sup>d</sup>Kal-kal, the *ni-dū-gal É-kur-ra-ge*, “the great gate-opener of the netherworld”, see *H. A. V.*, p. 377, note 1; *R. H.*, p. 26 (no. 11), Rev., 8, and cf. no. 8, col. V : 9, 10, where Ishtar, while in the netherworld, calls out the <sup>d</sup>Kal-kal: *é gâl-lu*, “open the house”!

b) the *IM-DUGUD*, i. e., the well-known storm-god <sup>d</sup>Zu, who in *B. E.*, XXVII, no. 1, col. III : 22, is closely connected with the *edin*;

c) the *utug edin-na*, one of the seven evil *utug*, *A. S. K. T.*, no. 11, col. I : 2;

d) the *ki-el edin-na lîl-lá*, another of the seven evil *utug*. This name is rendered either by *ar-da-at li-li-i*, Sm. 49 (Bezold, “Cat.”, p. 1376) or by *ar-da-tu sha bit za-ki-ki* (Br. 4532) — translations which show that *bit za-ki-ki* = *edin-lil* is merely the “sphere of influence” of the *Li-li-i* and as such a variant of *É-lîl-lá*, originally “house of Lil”, i. e., “house of the ‘Son of An, <sup>d</sup>En-lîl’” (see *B. E.*, XXIX, p. 18, note 6), who played in the pre-historic or An period the rôle of Dumuzi; later on an expression for “netherworld”, being translated, like *edin-lil*, not only by *bit za-ki-ki*, “house of the (god of the) storm” (M. 3801), but also by *bit šîri*, “house of the desert” (M. 3802) or by *bit iršiti*, “house of the netherworld” (M. 3799). The expression *lîl-lá...gi-gi* or *lîl-lá...tu(r)(tur)* = *ana za-ki-ki tûru*, so often occurring in the Sumerian Lenten songs, means, therefore, as much as “to hand over to sheol”, “to bring down into the netherworld”, the sphere of the “god of storm”. No wonder, then, that the seven evil *utug* are not only “begotten of the seed of An” (*a An-na a-ri-a-mēsh*, *C. T.*, XVI, 12 : 22) or “the beloved sons of Enlil” (*dumu ki-ág-gà* <sup>d</sup>En-lîl-lá, l. c., l. 5), but also and especially “born of Ereshkigal” (*ù-tu-ud-da* <sup>d</sup>Eresh-ki-gal-la-ge, l. c., l. 6), the queen of the netherworld;

e) the god <sup>d</sup>IM, the Dumuzi of the “Westland”, had according to II *R.*, 49 : 30 = V *R.*, 16 : 48, the name *Ūg-edin-na-gub-ba*, “the storm who has his abode in the edin”; cf. below, g;

f) the *me-ir-me-ir-ra edin-na*, “storm of the edin”, occurs in a Dumuzi text, published by Scheil, *R. A.*, VIII, p. 169, Obv. 11.

g) Noteworthy in this connection is also K. 7926 (Bezold, “Cat.”, p. 882) which mentions the following “storms of the an-edin”:

*ŭg-mah-e an-na-edin-na gub-ba*, “the sublime storm which has his abode in the netherworld”;

*ŭg-shur-ra an-edin-na si(g)-ga*, “the furious storm which stretches down in the netherworld”;

*ŭg-hâl-gâl an-edin-na rû-rû(dû-dû)*, “the evil storm which gores in the netherworld”;

*ŭg-gîr(pesh)-a an-edin-na gîr-gîr(bûr-bûr)*, “the swift (or weighty) storm which gathers in in the netherworld”;

Cf. here the name of Ishtar: *Ūg-nî-gîr*, *C. T.*, XXV, 17 : 8, which in the parallel passage, l. c., 44b : 3, is wrongly given as <sup>d</sup>PI(!)-ne-gîr, and Ishtar’s assurance, *A. S. K. T.*, p. 128 : 9/10, *sa-[pár] gîl-lî an-na- [edin-na] mên* = (*she-tu*) *it-[kur]-tum sha ana ši-rim [tar-ša]-at ana-ku*, “the swiftly moving net which is spread over the netherworld,

The function of "shepherd" is a necessary consequence of the conception which the Sumerians entertained with regard to their *edin* and is one of the inseparable attributes of the "Son" of a given trinity. The "Son", being in each and every case the "lord of the netherworld", was necessarily considered to be the "ruler" and "shepherd", the "guider" and "care-taker" of all beings to be found in the *edin* — whether these beings be gods, kings, men or animals.


In the prehistoric or An period, the "shepherd" was the "Son" of An, *En-lil*, who even as "Father" retained among his "seven foremost names" that of *sib na-am-sag-gi(g)-ga*<sup>6</sup>, or more generally *sib sag-gi(g)-ga*<sup>7</sup>, "shepherd of mankind". Though shepherd himself, Enlil had two other shepherds under him, viz. the *Nin-ma-gukal-lu*<sup>8</sup>, "lord of the sheep-fold", and the *Nin-amash-azag-ga*<sup>9</sup>, "lord of the pure fold", both of whom are designated

I am". Cf. also the name of Dumuzi: *Umun-sa-pár*, "lord of the net", into which are gathered all who go down to the netherworld.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 21 ff., where the kings of Isin are to be found in the netherworld.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the *sag-gi(g)-edin*, "the black-headed (people) of the netherworld", Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 24, no. 25, Rev., col. VIII: 16.


<sup>4</sup> To these "beasts" of the *edin* belong, among others,

a) the *mash-gír ni(g)-zi-gál edin-na*, Gudea, Cyl. B, IV: 18, probably the "swift gazelle (*B. E.*, XXIX, p. 84, note 22; cf. the *mash- an-edin-na* of *A. S. K. T.*, no. 12, rev. 11, 14), the creature of the *edin*" — a name, which was ascribed to the "weapon-carriers, the celebrated men, the beloved men of *dUtu*" (*NI gish UG erim mu-tug erim dUtu ki-ag*, Cyl. A, XIV: 24 ff.), i. e., in all probability, the personifications of the swift rays of the desert sun;

b) the *udu á-dara-mash an-edin-na má-a*, *A. S. K. T.*, no. 12: 4 (here parallel with the *udu á-dara-mash másh har-sag-gá-ge*, l. 3, and the *udu á-dara-mash kur-ra*, l. 5);

c) the *edin-na ganam* (or *sherba*) *LA* (? cf. de Genouillac, *T. S. A.*, p. LXV) *lu síl LA* (?) *lu*, no. 1, col. III: 5, 6.

According to these passages the *edin* is apparently a kind of "yard, hurdle, fold", in which these "beasts" are kept. This, no doubt, is the reason, why in M. 3049 the *edin* is identified with *túr* = *tarbašu*, a syn. of *amash* — names which designate, as is wellknown (*H. A. V.*, p. 399), the specific habitation of Ishtar and her maidens — and why Ishtar, as the occupant of this fold is herself called a "cow" (*LIT*, cf. above, p. 16) or "ewe" (*ganam*, *sherba* = *lahru*, see below, p. 33) or "lamb" (*síl*, cf. *C. T.*, XXIV, 18, Rev., 7, 8, *d Ish-ha-ra Síl*), or why even Dumuzi is sometimes represented by a "statue" in the form of a "lamb" or "sheep" (see below, p. 33). In this *amash* there were according to Scheil, *R. A.*, VIII, p. 164, col. II: 32—41 = Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 3, no. 2, col. II: 1, "seven demons" (*gál-lá*). Notice also that the *túr*, like the *É-an-na* (see above, p. 9, note 3) had an *IB*. In (*shú*) this *túr-IB* was born (*tu(d)-da*) the *dNidaba-gal*, Thureau-Dangin, *R. A.*, VII, (1910), p. 108, col. I: 3.

<sup>5</sup> *A. S. K. T.*, no. 12, Rev., 10, 11, *dSumug(g)a(n)* (= *GIR*) *dumu dUtu sib ni(g)-nam-ma-ge mash- an-edin-na hu-mu-ra-ab-gin-ne*. Cf. *C. B. M.*, no. 112: 25, *Su-mu-ug-ga-an zi-gál ibi-in-ba-ar á-shi ni-dib-a*, "S., keeper of a watchful eye over the living creatures, fearful *ushu*". Cf. also above, p. 17, note 4 and below, p. 32, note 3, and notice that *su-mu-ug-ga* signifies Dumuzi as the "one who is in distress" (*i-dir-tum*), see *C. T.*, XV, p. 20: 13, *súb-ba dDumu-zi-dé a su-mu-ug-ga-ni*, "of the shepherd D. — how long still his distress" (sc. 'till it comes to an end', or 'will it last')?

<sup>6</sup> Macmillan, *B. A.*, V, p. 666 a: 7/8 = *ri-é-um šal-mat qaq-qa-di*.

<sup>7</sup> *R. H.*, p. 45: 5, = *ri-é-um šal-mat qaq-qa-di*. Cf. also l. c., p. 29 (no. 13): 4; p. 32 (no. 14): 6; p. 42 (no. 21): 8; p. 43 (no. 21): 47; p. 45 (no. 22): 5; p. 46 (no. 22), rev. 5; p. 50: 7; Br. 5690; Macmillan, *B. A.*, V, p. 683: 4; p. 710 a: 10, etc., etc.

<sup>8</sup> See *C. T.*, XXIV, 11: 36/7 = 24: 53/4.

<sup>9</sup> According to l. c., ll. 38/9 = 55, he was the husband of *dNin(-zú)-amash-a(e)*, the daughter (*dumu-sal*) of *dAma-a-ra (Amar)-zu*. Notice also that the *dEn-a-ma-ash amash* and *dNin-amash* occur among the "42 names of

2 *sib úz*<sup>1</sup> *sīg(sīg-sīg)-ga* <sup>d</sup>*En-lil-la-ge*, “two shepherds of the beautiful (not yellow!) goats of Enlil”. In the *EME-SAL* texts <sup>d</sup>*Nin-amash-azag-ga* appears as <sup>d</sup>*Umun-amash-azag-ga* who is termed *sib zi-da*<sup>2</sup> = *ri-é-um ki-nu*, “legitimate shepherd”. Like the “sheep” or “ewes” (*ganam*, *sherba*) or “lambs” (*síl*, *síl*), these “goats” (*úz*)<sup>3</sup>, together with their “kids” (*másh*, *mash*), are in the Dumuzi texts a euphemistic expression for the “maidens and their young ones” holy or consecrated to the Ishtar cult, whether living in the terrestrial folds (harems) or in those of the netherworld.<sup>4</sup>

Above<sup>5</sup> we heard that <sup>d</sup>*En-ki*, “lord of the netherworld”, though originally merely an attribute of Enlil, became at a later time confused with the “god of the ocean”, *i. e.*, with <sup>d</sup>*E-a*. To this confusion is due Ea’s attribute “shepherd of the goats”, see *C. T.*, XXIV, 42 : 134, <sup>d</sup>*En-[lil-<sup>6</sup>]banda* |  $\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{Y}}$  (= <sup>d</sup>*É-a*) *sha sib úz*, *i. e.*, “Enlil-banda (‘the mighty Enlil’) is Ea as shepherd of the goats”.

The rôle of Enlil as Dumuzi, *i. e.* as the “true son” of An, was played in the “Westland” by <sup>d</sup>*MAR-TU*<sup>7</sup> *dumu An-na*. Hence, this god must likewise appear as a “shepherd”, if our theory of the development of the Sumerian religion be correct. That this is true, is evident from Thureau-Dangin, *N. F.*, AO 4331 + 4335, Rev., col. I : 3 ff., where Ishtar addresses <sup>d</sup>*MAR-TU* as follows:

<i>lugal gú-ma-da</i>	<i>sib ma-sa-ne</i> <sup>8</sup> <sup>d</sup> <i>Gi-ra</i> <sup>9</sup> - <i>da(l)</i>
<i>a-dan sib-bi</i>	<i>ma-sa-ne ba-ra-e-da-da(l)</i>
<i>másh li-mi-i-e-da(l)</i>	<i>si mulu-DI-NA ú-za-al-za-al-la-da(l)</i> , <i>i. e.</i> ,

the lord, the ‘father-mother’ Enlil”, *C. T.*, XXIV, 4 : 12/3 = 21 : 75, and that the “month of the festival (*ezen*) of <sup>d</sup>*Lugal-amash*” is the month Tammuz (*Shu-numun-na*), *V R.*, 43 : 16a, and that the <sup>d</sup>*Lugal-amash-PA-è*, “the glorious king of the fold”, seems to change with <sup>d</sup>*DUN-PA-è-a*, “glorious hero” (= Enlil, *B. E.*, XXIX, p. 21), see Zimmern, *Rituall.*, no. 45, p. 150 : 6, and *Maqlá*, II : 56.

<sup>1</sup> For the reading *úz* =  $\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{Y}}$ , instead of  $\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{Y}}$ , as copy gives, see Meissner, *O. L. Z.*, 1909, Sp. 201, and cf. *IV R.*, 28\*, no. 3 : 3; *Voc. Scheil*, 21 : 8.

<sup>2</sup> *R. H.*, p. 85 : 36 = 134, col. II : 33/4 = 137 : 45/6; *Sm.* 65 (Bezold, *Cat.*, p. 1377).

<sup>3</sup> Notice also that there existed a <sup>mul</sup>*ÚZ* or “heavenly goat”, the *capricornus*, belonging to the <sup>d</sup>*Ma-shā-ku*  $\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{Y}}$ , who is identified, among others, with <sup>d</sup>*Sumug(g)a(n)* or <sup>d</sup>*Sag-gan*, *i. e.*, with <sup>d</sup>*GÍR*, *C. T.*, XXIX, 46 : 13. The <sup>d</sup>*Sumug(g)a(n)* = <sup>d</sup>*GÍR*, then, is both a “shepherd” and an *ÚZ* or *mashaku*, “goat”; cf. also p. 32, note 12.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. here especially the *ki-á-lá-a ganam-síl-bi ki-á-lá-a úz-másh-bi*, lit., “the place minns strenght”, *i. e.*, the netherworld, where there is the ewe and its lamb; the netherworld, where there is the goat and its kid”, *IV R.*, 30, no. 2 : 1—3; cf. also Zimmern’s translation in *S. B. T.*, p. 207 and *A. O.*, XII, p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> *P.* 19, note 4.

<sup>6</sup> For this emendation cf. *II R.*, 59 : 42, <sup>d</sup>*Mu-ul-lil-banda(da)* | <sup>d</sup>*En-lil-banda(da)* | <sup>d</sup>*E-a*; *C. T.*, XXIV, 14 : 20, *An-<sup>d</sup>En-lil-banda(da)*, “the mighty An-Enlil!” | 4 (*i. e.*, the 4th name of Ea); cf. also *C. T.*, XXIV, 49a : 7—9.

<sup>7</sup> For <sup>d</sup>*MAR-TU* = <sup>d</sup>*En-lil*, see *B. E.*, XVII, p. 41, note 1; and for <sup>d</sup>*MAR-TU* in the rôle of Dumuzi, see above, p. 13, notes 1, 2.

<sup>8</sup> These *ma-sa-ne* (= *másh*, *mash*) are the “kids” that are kept *ina túr-azag* <sup>d</sup>*Gir-ra*, “in the pure fold (see above, p. 29, note 4) of Girra”, Craig, *R. T.*, I, p. 61 : 25, and constitute the *bu-ul* <sup>d</sup>*Gir* = *bu-ul* *šêri*, “sphere of influence” (*šêra* = *edin* = *túr-azag* = <sup>d</sup>*Gir*) for the “lord” or “god” of the sphere, see *B. E.*, XXIX, p. 10.

<sup>9</sup> Phonetic writing for <sup>d</sup>*GÍR*, who, if read <sup>d</sup>*Gir*, is = <sup>d</sup>*Né-iri-gal* (*B. E.*, XXVII, no. 1. col. VIII : 47, 49), and, if pronounced *Sumug(g)a(n)*, the “son of <sup>d</sup>*Utu*”, see above, p. 29, note 5.

"King of all the land, shepherd of the kids, like *Gira*,  
 "How long still, o shepherd, that the kids are not led out,  
 "That the kids are to be kept in, or that the horn of the drivers rests?"

After Enlil had displaced An, the "sons" of Enlil usurped the rôle played by their "Father". Among these "sons of Enlil" with the title "shepherd" may be mentioned the following:

a) *Sin of Ur*, the son of Enlil<sup>1</sup> and of An.<sup>2</sup> Cf. *B. E.*, XXVII, no. 1, col. VIII: 53, *Ash-gû-(b)ur-e nam-sib-zu sha-mu-un-AG*, "O Askaru, exercise thy shepherdship"! Perry, *Sin*, p. 12:4, records that Sin-Nannar is endowed with the *nishê šal-mat qagqadi ush-shu-ru*, "the directing of mankind".<sup>3</sup>

Sin is the *utul (LIT-KU?) LIT-ne-ra šal-dú(g)-ga*, "the shepherd who taketh care of the cows",<sup>4</sup> *C. T.*, XV, 17:15. Notice also Sin's name: <sup>d</sup>*Esh-ka-rum LIT-[ ]*, in *C. T.*, XXV, 27 a:7, and his temple *Ē-utúl túr-dagal-la-a*, "house of the flocks of the extended fold", *B. E.*, XXVII, no. 1, col. VIII:52.

In the Ur trinity: <sup>d</sup>*Nanna*(Sin), <sup>d</sup>*Utu*(Shamash), <sup>d</sup>*Innanna* (Ishtar), the "Son" of Nanna, <sup>d</sup>*Utu*, was the *sib tu(d)-da dNanna*, "the shepherd born by Nannar".<sup>5</sup> In the Sippar or Larsa trinity the "shepherd" was necessarily the "son of <sup>d</sup>*Utu*", <sup>d</sup>*Sumug(g)a(n)*.<sup>6</sup>

b) *Lugal-banda*,<sup>7</sup> the son of both Enlil<sup>8</sup> and Sin,<sup>9</sup> the "Enlil of Kullab" and "lord of Eshnunna", is expressly called <sup>d</sup>*Sib kalam-ma a-a sag-gi(g)-ga*, "divine shepherd of the 'country', father of mankind".<sup>10</sup>

c) *Nin-Girsu*. Though I have not yet found a passage where Nin-Girsu is referred to as "shepherd", yet this much is certain that he had two "shepherds", viz., the *En-lulim*,<sup>11</sup> who was the *sib másh-lulim*, "shepherd of the kids of the *lulim*-goats", and the <sup>d</sup>*En-sig-nun*,<sup>12</sup> the *sib anshu*, "shepherd of the donkeys".

<sup>1</sup> See "Creation-Story", p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Notice also that <sup>d</sup>*Nin-si-a* = <sup>d</sup>*Sin* (<sup>d</sup>*XXX*!), *C. T.*, XXIV, 48:7) appears in *C. T.*, XVI, 13a:40, as the *utul (LIT-KU) utúl (LIT-LU)-lu ú-a = ri'-i (ri-é-um) ú-tul-la-ti*, "shepherd of the flocks", cf. *H. A. V.*, p. 378, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> For the "cow(s) of <sup>d</sup>*Nanna*" see also Gudea, *Cyl. A*, XIX:13, and notice that according to *B. E.*, XXIX, p. 82:14, it is Nin-ib who is the "care-taker of the young oxen and cows of Sin", *ninda LIT-bi s[al-dú(g)-bi-ám]*.

<sup>5</sup> "Creation-Story", p. 22, note 10.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 29, note 5.

<sup>7</sup> For this god see *H. A. V.*, pp. 416ff.

<sup>8</sup> Hence the same as <sup>d</sup>*Nin-ib*, <sup>d</sup>*SUf*.

<sup>9</sup> For this reason identified with <sup>d</sup>*Utu*.

<sup>10</sup> *H. A. V.*, p. 418, no. 4:8. Cf. also *l. c.*, ll. 42ff., where he is referred to as *GIR-NITA síl mah-e dGir-dím*..., "overseer of the lambs, sublime one, like *Gir*...", see above, p. 30, note 8.


<sup>11</sup> Gudea, *Cyl. B*, X:7.

<sup>12</sup> Gudea, *Cyl. B*, X:1; Ur-Ba-u, *Statue*, VI:1. (Cf. also *C. T.*, XXIV, 36:37, where <sup>d</sup>*En-sig-nun* occurs as the first of the four *utug d[Nin-ib-ge]*).



d) *Nin-ib*, the “care-taker of the young oxen and cows of Sin”.<sup>1</sup>

e) *Nergal*, the “legitimate son and beloved of Enlil”<sup>2</sup>, was the “shepherd” *par excellence*, and this under the name <sup>d</sup>*Gīr*, <sup>d</sup>*Gīr-ra*, <sup>d</sup>*Gi-ra*.<sup>3</sup>

f) *En-nu-gi*, “the lord (of the land) without return”, i. e., of the netherworld,<sup>4</sup> the son<sup>5</sup> and throne-carrier<sup>6</sup> of Enlil, the *gú-gal*<sup>7</sup> of the great gods, the husband of <sup>d</sup>*Nidaba-ur-sag(gal)*,<sup>8</sup> father of <sup>d</sup>*Gin-Du(l)-azag-ga*<sup>9</sup> and lord of the ditches and irrigation canals.<sup>10</sup> This god had likewise two “shepherds”, viz., <sup>d</sup>*Ga-a-a-ú* and <sup>d</sup>*YV* (= *Ga-a-a-ú*)  <sup>11</sup>.

Also in *C. T.*, XXIX, 46:16, *Ga-a-a-ú* appears as a gloss, to <sup>d</sup>*GANAM*,<sup>12</sup> the “sheep”

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 31, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> *H. A. V.*, p. 428.

<sup>3</sup> See above p. 30, notes 8, 9, and 31, note 10. Notice in this connection that the <sup>d</sup>*Galu(Mulu)-rū*, who is identified with <sup>d</sup>*Lugal-edin-na*, the son of An, and with *Nergal*, the son of Enlil (*H. A. V.*, p. 430), appears in *H. A. V.*, p. 431, no. 5:6, as the *másh-udu igi-bar ú-ma-am kur-ra-ka ga-zi kú-kú-a*, “keeper of a watchful eye over the flocks, who nourishes the beasts of the field with milk of life”. Cf. p. 29, note 5.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Meissner-Rost, *B. S.*, p. 108, note, <sup>d</sup>*En-nu-gi bēl KI-tim la ta[-a-ri]*, where *KI-tim la lári* translates evidently the wellknown *kur-nu-gi(gí, ga)-a*.

<sup>5</sup> *R. H.*, p. 85:32/3 = 134:25/6 = 136:37/8.

<sup>6</sup> *C. T.*, XXIV, 10:7, <sup>d</sup>*En-nu-gi* | *gu-za-lá* <sup>d</sup>*En-lil-lá-gé*.

<sup>7</sup> *K. B.*, VI<sup>1</sup>, p. 250:8.



<sup>8</sup> *C. T.*, XXIV, 10:9; XXIX, 47d:6. Cf. also above, p. 29, note 4.

<sup>9</sup> “Maid of the god of the holy mountain”, *C. T.*, XXIV, 10:11.

<sup>10</sup> I. e., lord of the means which bring about the fertility of the ground. Zimmern, *Shurpu*, IV, p. 24:82, <sup>d</sup>*En-nu-gi en e u pà = bēl iki u palgi*. Cf. here the <sup>d</sup>*En-ki-ni-du*, “lord of the ‘fearful place’” = netherworld, who is the *umun e-pà = be-el i-gi(ki) u pal-gi*, *R. H.*, p. 87:27 = 92:16 = 135, col. III:15/6 = 139:139/40, and the <sup>d</sup>*En-me-en-shar-ra* (Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 16, no. 11, col. V:7), or generally written <sup>d</sup>*En-me-shar-ra*, who in *K. 48:1ff.* = Craig, *R. T.*, II, p. 13, appears likewise as the god of the netherworld and of the fertility of the ground, being called: *EN KI-tim NUN sha A-ra-a[l-l]i EN ash-ri u KUR-NU-GÍ sha-du-ú sha* <sup>d</sup>*A-nun-na-ki pa-ri-is ESH-BAR KI-tim mar-kas GAL-u sha AN KI-tim EN GAL-ú sha ina ba-li-shu* <sup>d</sup>*Nin-Gir-su ina GAN u pal-gi la ushte-esh-she-ru la i-ban-nu-ú ésh-she-na*. This <sup>d</sup>*En-me-en-shar-ra*, “lord of the commands (or tiara ?) of the universe”, was originally Enlil, cf. *C. T.*, XXIV, 4:26 = 21:82, where he appears among the “42 names of the lord, the father-mother Enlil”. He, like Enlil, revealed himself and acted through his “seven sons” (*III R.*, 69, no. 3:64). As planet he was the *lu-lim*, “*Leithammel*”, “leader”, *V R.*, 46, no. 1:21. Cf. also *R. H.*, p. 146:42, <sup>d</sup>*En-me-shar-ra ik-ka-mu-u* <sup>d</sup>*Me-me ish-kun bi-ki-tum*.

<sup>11</sup> *C. T.*, XXV, 27c:10, 11,



<sup>d</sup>*Ga-a-a-ú* | *si[b* <sup>d</sup>*En-nu-gi-ge*]


<sup>d</sup>*YV*  |  <sup>d</sup>*IGI-DUB-ti(l)*], compared with *C. T.*, XXIV, 48, col. II:19, 20;

[<sup>d</sup>*Ga-a-*]*a-ú* | *sib* <sup>d</sup>*En-nu-gi-ge*





[<sup>d</sup>*YV*]  | <sup>d</sup>*IGI-DUB (iskim, agrig ?)-ti(l)*  *shu*; cf. 1.22.

With *IGI-DUB-ti(l)* cf., besides *B. E.*, XXIX, p. 56, note 27, p. 57, note 43, also *R. H.*, p. 28:17, *Igi-gál Bád-si-ab-ba<sup>ki</sup> kala-kala-ga* § *IGI-DUB-ti(l)* <sup>d</sup>*Kur-gal kala-kala-ga*. *Marduk* is the *IGI-DUB-ti(l) nam-ti-la* (sc. of the sick), *A. S. K. T.*, no. 11, col. IV:6, and so is *Nin-ib*, l. c., l. 16. <sup>d</sup>*Utu* is the *en IGI-DUB-ti(l)-la* of *Ham-murapi*, King, *L. I. H.*, no. 62 (III, p. 180), Rev., 24; *Eannatum* is the *IGI-DUB-ti(l)* of <sup>d</sup>*Pa-sag*, *Feldst. A.*, col. II:18; *B.*, col. II:13.


<sup>12</sup> And to <sup>d</sup>. l. 15. The <sup>d</sup> is not to be identified with <sup>d</sup>*DARA* (M. 11332), but with <sup>d</sup>*YV* (= *Nin*) *si-ki SÍG(K)*, “the goddess (of the animals with) wool”, i. e., of the sheep, being as such merely a variant of <sup>d</sup>*Nin-sig* (cf. <sup>d</sup>*Maš* = <sup>d</sup>*Nin-maš*; <sup>d</sup>*Ib* = <sup>d</sup>*Nin-ib*, etc), *C. T.*, XXV, 20a:2a, 4b, one of the four names of <sup>d</sup>*La-har GANAM*, see following note.

<sup>d</sup> has also the gloss *sag-gan*, l. c., l. 6 — a gloss which gives, *inter alia*, the pronunciation of <sup>d</sup>*GĪR*,



or "ewe" — a god and goddess identified not only with Ishtar<sup>1</sup> and Ash-shu-ir-du,<sup>2</sup> with <sup>d</sup>IM and <sup>d</sup>BÁRA,<sup>3</sup> but also and especially with <sup>She-ir-ba</sup> <sup>d</sup>GANAM-alan, who occurs in *C. T.*, XXIX, 46 : 6, between two Dumuzi names, viz., <sup>Ti-bi-ra</sup> <sup>d</sup>URUDU-,<sup>4</sup> "the creator", "former" (l. 5), and <sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi <sup>d</sup>Sib, "shepherd" (l. 7). This justifies us to regard the <sup>She-ir-ba</sup> <sup>d</sup>GANAM-alan likewise as a name of Dumuzi and to identify it with the <sup>d</sup>-ba a-lan ALAN, which occurs in the well-known list of Dumuzi names, *C. T.*, XXIV, 19, col. II : 4 = 9 : 5 = XXV, 7 a, col. II : 5. But if so, the <sup>d</sup>-ba must be a mistake for <sup>d</sup>-ba, i. e., <sup>she-ir-ba</sup>, which, together with alan, is a gloss. <sup>She-ir-ba-a-lan</sup>, then, is the god "Dumuzi" in the form of a "statue representing a sheep or a lamb".<sup>5</sup> The Sumerian "Son" of God is the "Lamb" of God.

Dumuzi, like every other "Son" of a given trinity in the Sumerian religion, had to be a "shepherd" likewise. He is the <sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi <sup>d</sup>Sib,<sup>6</sup> "divine shepherd"; the *mulu sib-bi*,<sup>7</sup> "shepherd-man", the <sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi EN<sup>8</sup> SIB sha <sup>d</sup>A-nim<sup>9</sup> DUMU<sup>10</sup> <sup>d</sup>É-a *har-mi* <sup>d</sup>U-GÚN

l. 9 (= *Su-mu-ug-ga* <sup>d</sup>GÍR, l. 8). From this it follows that <sup>Ga-a-a-ú</sup> <sup>d</sup> is = <sup>d</sup>Sumug(g)a(n) (GÍR) and that the latter is both a "shepherd" and a "sheep"; cf. also p. 30, note 3.

<sup>1</sup> *C. T.*, XXV, 20 a : 4, <sup>d</sup>La-har GANAM, "the (mother-) sheep, ewe", "Rachel", who is, according to l. 4b = XXIV, 32 : 117b the <sup>d</sup>Nin-SÍG (see preceding note), and according to l. 5b = XXIV, 32 : 118b, the <sup>d</sup>Nin-du(l)-azag-ga or <sup>d</sup>Du!-azag-ga, "mistress (goddess) of the holy mountain", and according to XXV, 9 : 15 (here without the gloss *la-har*), the <sup>d</sup>A-a sha ku-ni-e (*H. W. B.*, p. 338a), or also called <sup>d</sup>A-a sha mash-ta-ki *hi-rat* <sup>d</sup>Shag-zu, "A-a of the harem, wife of Shag-zu", l. c., ll. 12, 13. Now, as Shagzu is either Enlil or Enzu or IM or Marduk (see *H. A. V.*, p. 405, note 43), the Ishtar as "ewe" becomes here either Ninlil or Ningal or Shala or Sarpanitum.

<sup>2</sup> *C. T.*, XXIX, 46 : 17.

<sup>3</sup> *C. T.*, XXIX, 46 : 18, <sup>Sha-ra</sup> <sup>d</sup>IM

19, <sup>YY</sup> <sup>d</sup>BÁRA

20, <sup>YY</sup> <sup>d</sup>GANAM

<sup>4</sup> Notice that the <sup>ú-mu-un-e</sup> <sup>Bád-URUDU-NAGAR</sup><sup>ki</sup>, "lord of B." is Dumu-zi, no. 6, col. I : 8; *C. T.*, XV, 18 : 8; cf. no. 5, Rev., II : 11, [<sup>ú-mu-un</sup>]-e <sup>Ba-ad-U</sup>[<sup>RUDU-NAGAR</sup><sup>ki</sup>]. The <sup>É-d</sup><sup>Dumu-zi</sup> <sup>Bád-URUDU-NAGAR</sup><sup>ki</sup>-a is mentioned in *B. E.*, XXVII, no. 1, col. IV : 45; and l. c., ll. 43, 44, <sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi is called the *lugal É-nina-a-ge*, <sup>Bád-URUDU-NAGAR</sup><sup>ki</sup>; cf. no. 1, col. III : 10, <sup>Bád-URUDU-NAGAR</sup><sup>ki</sup> <sup>É-nina-a</sup>. From this it follows that the <sup>d</sup>Lugal-Bád-URUDU-NAGAR<sup>ki</sup> of *C. T.*, XXV, 38 a : 3, must be <sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi. Lastly, just as Dumuzi is the <sup>Ti-bi-ra</sup> <sup>d</sup>URUDU-NAGAR, so is Ishtar (= <sup>d</sup>Be-lit-ì-ì), his wife, the <sup>d</sup>URUDU-NAGAR-kalam-ma(*dingir*(-ri)-e-ne), "the former, creator of the 'country' (gods)", *C. T.*, XXIV, 12 : 24/5 = 25 : 87.

<sup>5</sup> And not an "Ea-Bild", Zimmern, *B. G. T.*, p. 7, note 1.

<sup>6</sup> *C. T.*, XXIX, 46 : 7.

<sup>7</sup> *C. T.*, XV, 28 : 3, 22.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the <sup>súb-ba en</sup> <sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi, below, p. 39, note 3.

<sup>9</sup> This attribute betrays still clearly the fact that the original and first Dumuzi was Enlil, the "Son" and "shepherd" of An. In *R. H.*, p. 131 : 41/2, <sup>d</sup>Mu-ul-lil appears distinctly as the *tu-mu mu-lu zi-da*, "the 'Son', the true one", being rendered in Semitic by *ma-ri ki-nim*, "true son", which is, of course, nothing but our <sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi. When in the later development of the Sumerian religion the rôle of Enlil as Dumuzi was transferred to all the other "Sons" of the various trinities, <sup>d</sup>Dumuzi, like An, Enlil, Ishtar, acquired a generic significance (*H. A. V.*, p. 404, note 31). This is the reason why we find such a peculiar writing as <sup>d</sup>Dumu *mêsh-zi*, *III R.*, 66, Obv. 31a., 13d, 18a, Rev., 24a — a writing which is by no means a "graphische Spielerei (zur Bezeichnung des langen ú)" as

*hi-ra-ti . . . na-shu-u shi-bir-ri*<sup>11</sup> *EN-TÚR*,<sup>12</sup> "D., the lord, the shepherd of An, son of Ea, husband of 'the beautiful one' (= Ishtar), the wife, . . . who carries the shepherd's staff, lord of the fold". As "shepherd of An" Dumuzi appears also in *C. T.*, XV, 27 : 46/7 = 30 : 24/5, where it is said of him:

*mu(sh)-dúr-dím ki-utúl (LIT-LU, var. en-nu-ùg*<sup>13</sup> (var. *ŠI*)<sup>14</sup> *mu-un-da-ab-dū(dú(g))*  
*LIT)-A-na*<sup>15</sup>

*súb-ba-dím ki-e-ši*<sup>16</sup> *udu-A-na en-nu-ùg* (var. *ŠI*) *mu-un-da-ab-dū(dú(g))*, i. e.,

"Like (one with) a shepherd's staff over the he keepeth guard,

'folds of the herds (var. cows) of An'

"Like a shepherd (?) over the 'folds of the he keepeth guard."

sheep-flocks of An'

Dumuzi is, therefore, rightly called *Šib-zi-an-na*,<sup>17</sup> "true shepherd of An".

Ishtar, who is referred to either as *dam sib-ba*<sup>18</sup>, "wife of the shepherd", or as the *sib-bí SAL-KU*<sup>19</sup>, "sister of the shepherd", bewails her husband Dumuzi as follows:

Zimmern, *B. G. T.*, p. 6, note 3, is inclined to think, but one justified by the historic development of the Dumuzi cult, informing us that there existed among the Sumerians *several* (*mésh* = plural!) Dumuzi as e. g., the *dDumuzi-abzu*, the *dDumuzi of Bád-URUDU-NAGAR*<sup>ki</sup>, the *dDumuzi of Ki-ner-sha*<sup>ki</sup> (sic! = *Ki-nu-ner*<sup>ki</sup>?), *B. E.*, XXVII, no. 1, col. VI : 6, 8, etc., — all of whom, though worshiped in different cities, played the same rôle.


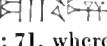

<sup>10</sup> This statement proves definitely that "Dumuzi, the son of Ea", must be identified with *Dumuzi-abzu*, see *H. A. V.*, p. 404, note 31, and Zimmern, *B. G. T.*, p. 7.


<sup>11</sup> Cf. *C. T.*, XV, 10 : 19, where *dMu-ul-lil* is said to carry the *shibir dingir-ri-ne* "shepherd's staff of the gods".

<sup>12</sup> Cf. also Dumuzi's attribute *ù-mu-un-e É-túr-a*, "lord of the (house of the) fold", *C. T.*, XV, 18 : 12. This 'fold' (*túr*, syn. of *amash*) is both the "harem" (*H. A. V.*, p. 399) and the *edin* (above, p. 29, note 4). Cf. also the *dUmun-amash-azag-ga*, above, p. 29.

<sup>13</sup> For this reading cf. l. c., l. 22 = 24, *en-nu-ùg-gà* and see Br. 2841.

<sup>14</sup> *ŠI . . . dú(g)* = *NI* (i. e., *ší*, above, p. 15, note 5) . . . *dú(g)* = *za(l)* . . . *dú(g)* = *sal* . . . *dú(g)*.

<sup>15</sup> Notice in this connection that *C. T.*, XXIV, 3 : 23/4 = 21 : 57/8, mentions the two *utul (LIT-KU)-gal An-na-ge*, "great shepherds of An", viz., *dEn-ga-ra*  (sic! read ) and *dSubur-á-zi-da*. For the reading  cf. *C. T.*, XXIV, 4 : 4, 5 = 21 : 71, where *dEn-gara* together with his wife *dNIN-gara* are mentioned among the "42 names of the lord, the father-mother Enlil". Enlil, then, the son of An, was the original "shepherd" of An.

In *C. T.*, XXV, 19a : 4, *dNIN*<sup>Ni(!)-ga-ra</sup>  is said to be the wife (*dam-bi-sal*) of *dHa-ar GUD*. This *dHár* or "god of the oxen" is according to l. c., 6 : 22, the *galu kin-gi-a dMash-tab-ba-ge*, "messenger of the 'twins'", being mentioned immediately after the *sukal* of *dLugal-gír-ra* and of *dMes-lam-ta-è-a*, which would seem to indicate that these "twins" were the "great twins", i. e., Sin and Nergal, *V R.*, 46 : 4, 5 = *H. A. V.*, p. 425. But Sin is the *θεός βοῦλαῖος* of the third month with the stars *Šib-zi-an-na* and *Mash-tab-ba-gal-gal-la*, see *B. E.*, Series D, vol. VI, Table II : 3. From this it follows that Dumuzi, "the shepherd of An", or also called *dEn-gara* or *dHár*, was Sin, to whom the rôle of Enlil had been transferred. Sin, therefore, is not only the "son of Enlil", but also the "son of An", and the star through which he reveals himself is the *Šib-zi-an-na* = Dumuzi, see below, note 17.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. no. 6, col. VI : 11, 13; Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 59, no. 79 : 14.

<sup>17</sup> *C. T.*, XXIV, 9 : 9 = XXV, 7a : 9.

<sup>18</sup> Macmillan, *B. A.*, V, p. 679, Obv., 8.

<sup>19</sup> *C. T.*, XV, 28 : 27; 29 : 11. 19.

No. 7 : 1 ff.,

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>sib-mu mash</i> <sup>1</sup> -zu  | <i>i-bi</i> <sup>2</sup> -nu-e-mu-un-dū     |
| “My shepherd, thy kids —  | no one taketh care of them;                 |
| 2. <i>a-dan sib-mu mash-</i>  | zu  |
| “Alas! my shepherd, thy kids —  | (sc. no one taketh care of them;)           |
| 3. <i>ú-lu-lu</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>ses</i> <sup>4</sup> <i>ama</i> <sup>5</sup> <i>Mu(sh)-tin-</i> | na  |
| “Bewailed (?) one, brother of mother  | (sc. thy kids — etc.)                       |
| <i>Geshtinna,</i>   |   |
| 4. <i>shutug ú-lu-lu</i>  | ses   |
| “Anointed one, bewailed (?) one,  | brother (sc. of mother G., thy kids — etc.) |
| 5. <i>ù-mu-un Kul-ab</i> <sup>ki</sup> <sup>6</sup>   | <i>ù-mu-un Unu(g)</i> <sup>ki</sup> -ga     |
| “Lord of Kullab,  | lord of Erech, (sc. thy kids — etc.)        |
| 6. <i>ù-mu-un Unu(g)</i> <sup>ki</sup> -ga  | <i>ù-mu-un-e Kul-ab</i> <sup>ki</sup>       |
| “Lord of Erech,   | lord of Kullab, (sc. thy bids — etc.)       |

Particularly interesting in connection with the “shepherdship” of Dumuzi is no. 6, Obv., which may be transcribed and translated as follows:

- |  |                               |
|--|-------------------------------|
| 1. [ <i>súb</i> <sup>7</sup> -ba <i>ama</i> ] <i>sh-zu</i> | <i>gi-er-ra [su(g)-ga-ám]</i> |
| “Shepherd(?), thy fold                                     | in tears is bathed;           |

<sup>1</sup> Var. of *másh*.

<sup>2</sup> *I-bi*...*dū*, “to oversee, to supervise”. The idea is that the kids without Dumuzi are “like sheep without a shepherd”. For the reading *i-bi* — instead of *i-dé* — cf. now Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 10, no. 5, col. III : 45 = p. 22, no. 25, col. I : 18 = p. 19, no. 17, col. III : 1, where *i-bi-bi-da(ta) i-si(-si, ish) am(ám)-ta-lá-lá* (followed by *sha(b)-bi a-she-ir im-shi-lá-lá*) corresponds to *R. H.*, p. 35 : 14/5 = 66 : 7/8, *i-bi-bi-ta i-si-ish am-ta-lá-e* = (*ina pa-ni-shu*) *ni-is-sa-tum it-ta-lal* (followed by *sha(b)-bi a-she-ir(-ra) im-shi-lá-e* = *lib-ba-shu ta-ni-hum-ma*), and to our no. 5, col. II : 7, *i-bi(!)-bi she-ir-ra am-shi-she-she* (followed by *sha(!)-bi a-she-ir am-ta-lá-lá*); hence, *pánu* = *i-bi* = *i-bi* = *igi*. Is the name of <sup>d</sup>*I-bi(bi)-Sin* to be explained, after all, with Hilprecht, as meaning “eye, face, image of Sin”?

<sup>3</sup> Meaning uncertain. Zimmern, *S. B. T.*, p. 240, 37, “*wohl = sarru, ‘unfester’*”; Langdon, *Babyloniaca*, II, p. 280, “*multitudes*”. *C. T.*, XV, 27 : 13—15, gives *ù-lul-la* as a variant of *ú-lu-lu*, *l. c.*, 30 : 16/7; cf. also *l. c.*, 28 : 29, *lul-li*. For other occurrences cf. Scheil, *R. A.*, VIII, p. 164, Obv., II : 47 (*ú-lu-lu*) = Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 3, no. 2, col. II : 7 (*‘ú-lu-lu*); p. 4, no. 2, col. III : 8 (*ú-lu-lu*) = Scheil, *l. c.*, p. 167, Rev., II : 88 (*‘u-lu-lu*, not *saḥar-ra*); Zimmern, *l. c.*, p. 39, no. 34, Rev., 15 (*ú-lu-lu*); p. 47, no. 51, Rev., 2 (*ù-lu-lu*).

The <sup>d</sup>*Lugal-á-lu-lu* is = Dumuzi, *C. T.*, XXV, 39c : 17; the <sup>d</sup>*Ú-lu-lu* is the last of the eight *galu kin-gi-a* <sup>d</sup>*Ma-nun-gal-ge*, “messengers of M.”, *C. T.*, XXIV, 47a : 41b = XXV, 4 : 22; and the *ù-lul-la-UG-UG* is the last of the “seven great names” of Enlil, *R. H.*, p. 20 (no. 13) : 7, *et passim*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. also the peculiar writing *she-sha*, no. 5, Rev., col. II : 1, and *si-sa*, Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 62, no. 94, Obv., 17 = *ses*, *l. c.*, no. 95, Obv., 17.

<sup>5</sup> See no. 5, Rev., col. II : 12, [*ses-e*] *a-ma Mu(sh)[-tin-na]*.

<sup>6</sup> Here Dumuzi is the “lord of Kullab”; but according to *H. A. V.*, p. 416, the <sup>d</sup>*En-lil* or “lord” of Kullab was <sup>d</sup>*Lugal-banda*, the husband of <sup>d</sup>*Nin(Ga-sha-an)-sun*, who in no. 1, col. II : 5, appears as the “mother of the lord”. See also Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 13, no. 8, col. II : 44, *Ú-mu-un-banda(da) Kul-unu(g)-gán-nun*. The *a-ma Kul-la-ba* was *Ga-sha-an-I-ri-ga-al*, *C. B. M.*, 112 : 2.

<sup>7</sup> Emendation according to ll. 2, 10. For the reading *súb* — instead of *gúb* (Zimmern) or *sùb, sīb* (Langdon) — see below, pp. 39ff.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 2. <i>amash-zu súb-ba amash[-zu]</i>                   | <i>gi-er-ra su(g)-ga-[ám]</i>               |
| “Thy fold, o shepherd(?), thy fold                     | in tears is bathed;                         |
| 3. <sup>d</sup> <i>Ama-ushumgal-an-na</i> <sup>1</sup> | <i>amash-zu</i>                             |
| “Heavenly king of the ‘mother’,                        | thy fold (sc. in tears is bathed);          |
| 4. <i>ù-mu-un-e</i>                                    | <i>A-ra-li</i> <sup>2</sup>                 |
| “Lord  | (of) the netherworld, (sc. thy fold, etc.); |

<sup>1</sup> The reading *Ama* — instead of *Dagal* (*H. A. V.*, p. 404, note 31) — is now assured by no. 5, Rev., col. II: 6, *A-ma-ù-shu-ga-la-[na] nu-ti-il*, “A. lives no more”. Zimmern, *B. G. T.*, p. 7, no. 2, renders this name by “*Mutter, Alleinherrscherin des Himmels*”. In view of the fact, however, that Ishtar herself is called *ushumgal-an-na* = *shar-rat shamê*, “queen of heaven”, Sm. 954, Rev., 3/4, we may see in this name some such meaning as “*der Mutter Himmelskönig*”, “heavenly king of the mother (= Ishtar)”. He is expressly identified with Dumuzi (see below), appears as the “lord of the house (where one cries out: ‘Alas!’)”, *ù-mu-un Ê-a*, no. 1, col. III: 7, and is the husband of <sup>d</sup>*Nin-an-si-an-na*, “the beautiful mistress of heaven”, *H. A. V.*, no. 2, p. 406, or of *Gashan-an-na*, see below, p. 37, note 1.

The following writings of this name may be mentioned (see already Zimmern, *B. G. T.*, p. 7, note 3):

<sup>d</sup>*Ama-ushumgal-an-na*, no. 1, col. III: 7; no. 4: 45, no. 6, col. I: 3; *H. A. V.*, no. 2: 62; *C. T.*, XV, 20: 3; 28: 9; IV *R.*, 30, no. 2, Obv., 20; Rev., 8 = *R. H.*, p. 67: 19; IV *R.*, 27, no. 1, add p. 6a: 11; *C. T.*, XXIV, 9: 2 = 19, col. II: 1 = XXV, 7a, col. II: 2 (here among Dumuzi names); *C. T.*, XVI, 46: 195/6 (here rendered in the Semitic column by <sup>d</sup>*Dumu-zi*);

*Ama-ushumgal-an-na*, no. 12: 28;

*Ama-ù-shumgal-an-na*, *H. A. V.*, no. 2: 42; *C. T.*, XV, 18: 6;

*Ama-ù-shu-um-gal-an-na*, Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 6, no. 3, col. IV: 14;

*Ama-ù-shu-gal-la-na*, Pinches, *Manch.*, I: 18; Zimmern, *l. c.*, p. 5, no. 3, col. I: 22;

*Ama-shu-gal-an-na*, Zimmern, *l. c.*, p. 44, Rev., 9;

*Ama-shu-gal-la-na*, Pinches, *Manch.*, I: 14; Zimmern, *l. c.*, p. 36, no. 31: 7;

*Ama-shu-gal-a-na*, Zimmern, *l. c.*, p. 2, no. 1, col. III: 18;

*Ù-shu-gal-a-na*, *Manch.*, I: 18; III: 21; Zimmern, *l. c.*, p. 36, no. 31, col. I: 11. Cf. also *Ù-shu-gal*, Zimmern, *l. c.*, p. 1, no. 1, col. I: 8 = *Ù-gal*, I. 12.

<sup>2</sup> This is the common ancient Sumerian writing. The later Semitic texts have *A-ra-al-li-e*, *A-ra-al-li*, *A-ra-al-lu*. The meaning of this word is not yet certain; a significance “way (*a-ra* = *a-rá*) (of or to the) ‘li’” may, however, be suggested. “*Li*” may be either an abbreviation of *li(-du, da, di)*, “the way of the song (sc. of wailing)”; or it may be taken as a syn. of “*a*” = *ahulap* = *a-di ma-ti* (Br. 1109), “alas!” “how long still?” “when at last?” *A-ra-li*, then, would be “the way of the ‘alas!’ (cryings)”; or lastly, “*li*” may be = *arkātu*, “future, eternity”, i. e., “the way of or to the eternity”.

This *A-ra-li* was the *edin* or “netherworld” (see above, p. 17); cf. also N. F., AO 4346 etc., where *A-ra-li* is parallel with *edin*. It was the “shepherd(?)’-hill” or “beautiful hill” (see below, pp. 39ff.); a “place not to beholden”, *A-ra-li àm-nu-ù* = *a-shar la a-ma-ri*, IV *R.*, 24, no. 2: 6/7 (here preceded by *Ê-kur*, *Gi-gùn-na*); a “place of the far-off regions”, *gi-bad-di-en A-ra-li A-ra-li*, no. 5, Rev., II: 3 (cf. Dumuzi’s name <sup>d</sup>*Lugal-ki-bad-du*, below, p. 44, note 4); a “place of doom”, *A-ra-li ki-sag NUN-KI-DA*, no. 2: 36. The *A-ra-li gu(d)-bur-nun-na* of *R. H.*, p. 94: 21, is in all probability “the abode (*gu(d)-bur* = *gī-būr*) of the prince”; cf. <sup>d</sup>*En-me-shar-ra NUN sha A-ra-al-li*, above, p. 32, note 10.

Dumuzi is the “lord (*ù-mu-un*) of the A.”, no. 6, col. I: 4; no. 12: 29; *C. T.*, XV, 18: 7; IV *R.*, 27, no. 1: 3. The list of Dumuzi names, *C. T.*, XXIV, 9: 6 = 19, col. II: 5 = XXV, 7a, col. II: 6, has possibly to be emended to <sup>d</sup>*Am-[A-r]a-a-li*, “lord of the A.”. Ishtar bewails Dumuzi as the *ù-mu-zal-e A-ra-li nu-ti-il*, “he who makes his abode or dwells (see *B. E.*, XXIX, p. 71, note 3) in the A. lives no more”, no. 5, Rev., II: 7.

This Arali had a “house”: *Ê-A-ra-li*, II *R.*, 61, no. 1: 18 (here mentioned between the *Ê-er-ra*, “house of wailing”, and the *Ê-tin-na*, “house of life”) which was the *Ê-nina(-a)*, no. 1, col. III: 11, originally the temple of *Bád-URUDU-NAGAR<sup>ki</sup>* (see above, p. 33, note 4), of which Dumuzi was the “king” (*lugal*) and “lord”, see I. 10. In *B. E.*, XXVII, no. 1, col. IV: 40, Dumuzi is called <sup>d</sup>*Ligir-su Ê-A-ra-li-ka*, “glorious bridegroom of the house of A.”

Lastly, notice that Arali is a syn. of *Ê-kur-idim*, “Ekur of the dead”; of *iri-gal*, “great abode”; and of *ù-ru-gal ÍB* (II *R.*, 30, no. 1, Rev., 13a, b). With this *ÍB* cf. above, p. 9, note 3; p. 29, note 4, and the names <sup>d</sup>*IB*, <sup>d</sup>*Nin-IB*, <sup>d</sup>*Nin-ÍB*.

5. <i>súb-ba</i>	<i>en</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>Dumu-zi</i>
“Shepherd (?)	lord Dumuzi, (sc. thy fold etc.);
6. <i>ù-mu-un</i>	<i>Du(l)-súb-ba</i>
“Lord	of the shepherd (?)—hill, (sc. thy fold etc.);
7. <i>mu-tan-na</i>	<i>Ga-sha-an-An</i> <sup>1</sup> [ <i>na</i> or <i>ka</i> ]
“Husband	of the Mistress of <i>An</i> , (sc. thy fold etc.);

<sup>1</sup> She was, as her name indicates, originally the wife of *An*. Her temple was the *É-an-na* at Erech, see above, p. 9. As wife of *An* or “heaven” (*B. E.*, XXIX, p. 16) she signifies the “earth”. Here she appears as the wife of Dumuzi, i. e., originally Enlil, the “Son” of *An* and *Gashan(Nin)-an*. It is, therefore, quite evident that *Gashan-an* may and does become the wife of her own son, i. e., the earth may and does become united with the god of the fertility of the ground.

For Dumuzi as “husband” (*mu-tan-na*) of *Ga-sha-an-an-na*, cf. also *C. T.*, XV, 18:11 and especially IV *R.*, 27, no. 1:1, 2, *súb-ba en* <sup>d</sup>*Dumu-zi mu-tan-na Gashan-an-na* = *ri-é-um be-lim* <sup>d</sup>*Dumu-zi ha-me-ir* <sup>d</sup>*Ish-tar*, “shepherd, lord Dumuzi, husband of Ishtar”. In *R. H.*, p. 85:20, <sup>d</sup>*Ama-ushumgal-an-na* is referred to as her, i. e., *Gashan-an-na*’s, husband (*mu-tan-na-ni*), being rendered in *R. H.*, p. 134:7/8 = 136:19/20, by *ha-PI-ir-sha* <sup>d</sup>*Dumu-zi*. Cf. also *C. T.*, XV, 28:15ff., where <sup>d</sup>*Ama-ushumgal-an-na* and *Gashan-an-na* are called *sal-nita-dam* (-*ni*)-*húb-bi*, i. e., “female and male who live together (*húb*) as husband and wife (*dam*)”. This her husband appears in Scheil, *R. A.*, VIII, p. 162, Obv., I:19, as “youthful husband”, *mu-tan-na tur-ra-na*; generally, however, merely as *dam*, for whom she wails and sheds bitter tears, see *l. c.*, I:2; p. 164:43; p. 168:102 = Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 3, no. 2, col. I:2; col. II:6.

In Semitic *Gashan(Nin)-anna* is rendered by <sup>d</sup>*U-GÚN*, “glorious mistress”; <sup>d</sup>*U-GÚN-mul*, “glorious mistress of the stars” (*C. T.*, XXV, 31a:16); <sup>d</sup>*Innanna* (= *Ini-anna*, see above, p. 10, note 1); <sup>d</sup>*Ish-tar*; *Ish-ta-ri-tum*; <sup>d</sup>*Ish-tar sha-qa-at*, “I., the exalted” (*R. H.*, p. 20, no. 9, Rev., 22/3 = p. 23, no. 10, Rev., 7/8).

She is the <sup>sal</sup>*egi* (or *SAL-KU*), “princess” (or “sister”), Sm. 954, Rev., 17/8; *R. H.*, p. 104:8; the *azag*, “holy one”, no. 8, col. V:14; Scheil, *R. A.*, VIII, p. 146:43; p. 168:102; the *mu-gi(g)-ib*, no. 13, Obv., 9, 11; *C. T.*, XV, 23:3; 28:20; *R. H.*, p. 89:15, *et passim*; *mu-gib-an-na*, no. 9, col. II:19; *nu-gib-an-na*, no. 12:3; *mu-gi-ib Nin-na-na* (= <sup>d</sup>*Ba-ú*), *N. F.*, AO4327, Rev., II:2; 4331/5, col. I:2, i. e., “the consecrated one” (= *qadishtu*); the *NU-NUNUZ shá(g)-ga* (= <sup>d</sup>*Ba-ú*), “the gracious or beautiful woman”, *R. H.*, p. 89:17. The designation (*d*)*Gashan-an-na ásh-ni-gi-ge* = <sup>d</sup>*Ish-tar el* (?) *te* (?) *gar-ra-da-at*, *R. H.*, p. 85:19 = 134:5/6 = 136:17/8, is not yet clear to me.

In consequence of the transfer of the rôle of Dumuzi-Gashananna to the various “sons” and “mothers” of the several trinities, it happened that Gashananna, though the “Mother” *par excellence* and wife of *An*, became even the daughter of *An* (hence, the sister and wife of Enlil and of all the other sons of *An*), of Enlil (hence, the sister and wife of all the sons of Enlil), of Sin (hence, the sister and wife of Shamash), of Anshar, of Ninib, etc., see “*Bél, the Christ*”, p. 2, and notes. For Ishtar as daughter of Enlil, cf. also *R. H.*, p. 132:25, *dumu ki-ág-zu Gashan-an-na-ge*, “thy (i. e., Enlil’s, I. 21) beloved child G.”; and for Ishtar as daughter of <sup>d</sup>*Dur-an-ki* (= Enlil) see K. 9955 + Rm. 613 = Bezold, “Cat.”, p. 1053. These various genealogies are the evidence and proof of our assertion that Dumuzi-Ishtar may signify any “Son” or “Mother” and “Bride” of a given trinity; cf. *H. A. V.*, p. 404, note 31.

The following noteworthy writings of this name may be mentioned;

*Gashan-an-na*, so generally in the later copies;

<sup>d</sup>*Gashan-an-na*, *R. H.*, p. 85:20 = 134:7/8 = 136:19/20; II *R.*, 59, Rev., 12;

<sup>d</sup>*Gashan-an-e*, III *R.*, 66, Obv., 7a, 29a, 36f.

*Gashan-a-na-a* (= <sup>d</sup>*Ishtar sha-qa-at*), *R. H.*, p. 20, no. 9, Rev., 22/3 =

*Gashan-na-na*, *R. H.*, p. 23, no. 10:7/8;

*Ga-sha-an-an*, Scheil, *R. A.*, VIII, p. 164, Obv., II:43;

*Ga-sha-an-an-na*, no. 6, col. I:7; no. 8, col. V:15; no. 9, col. II:19; no. 13, Obv., 9, 11, and so most commonly in the older *EME-SAL* texts;

<sup>d</sup>*Ga-sha-an-an-na*, no. 11:4; no. 12:3;

*Ga-sha-an-na*, no. 8, col. VI:3; *H. A. V.*, no. 12:12;

*Ga-sha-na-na*, Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 44, no. 44:2b; p. 49, no. 57:4b;

8. *ù-mu-un-e* *Bád-URUDU-NAGAR<sup>ki</sup>-ge*  
 "Lord(,) (of) B., (sc. thy fold etc.);  
 9. *ses ama Mu(sh)-* *tin- na*  
 "Brother of mother *Geshtinna*, (sc. thy fold etc.);  
 10. *ù-mu-un-e Ê-nina-a<sup>1</sup> amash-zu* *gi-er-ra su(g)-ga-ám*  
 "Lord (, of) *Ê-nina*, thy fold, in tears is bathed!  
 11. *amash nimur<sup>2</sup>-bi* *nu-ma-ra-zu*  
 "The fold's sustenance — art thou not he who furnishes it?  
 12. *SHE-MUR<sup>2</sup>-ne-bi* *a-su (? LU)-a-zu*  
 "Its sustenance verily, thou increasest (providest) it!

*Ka-sha-an-na-na*, Pinches, *Manch.*, III : 23; VI : 25; Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 5, no. 3, II : 18;

*Ka-sha-an-na*, no. 5, Rev., II : 10; Pinches, *Manch.*, VI : 26;

*Ka-sha-na-na*, Pinches, *Manch.*, IV : 5; Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 5, no. 3, col. II : 21, 22; p. 7, no. 4, col. I : 31; II : 22; p. 43, no. 40 : 3a;

*Ka-sha-a-an*(= *àm*?)*-na-na*, Pinches, *Manch.*, II : 13;

<sup>d</sup>*Nin-an-na*, so generally, but also

*Nin-na-na* (= <sup>d</sup>*Ba-ú*), see above.

In conclusion notice that the <sup>d</sup>*En-an-na* and the <sup>d</sup>*Nin-an-na* are enumerated in *C. T.*, XXIV, 4 : 18/9 = 21 : 78, among the "42 names of the lord, the father-mother Enlil" — a fact which proves

- 1) that Enlil was indeed the original Dumuzi, and
- 2) that Enlil did usurp the rôle of his "Father" An.

<sup>1</sup> For the *Ê-nina-a* cf. already above, p. 33, note 4, and p. 36, note 2. Notice also that Ishtar as Gashan-Girgilu is addressed: <sup>sal</sup>*egi-zi-mu Ga-sha-an-Ê-nina-a*, "my true princess, mistress of Ê", *C. T.*, XV, 23 : 4; cf. *R. H.*, p. 139 : 131/2, <sup>sal</sup>*egi-zi-da Gashan-ni-na(d)-a-ra* = *ru-ba-tum kit-tum Nin-Nin<sup>ki</sup>*. In Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 4, no. 2, col. III : 16, the *edin Ê-nina-a-ka* is mentioned. Within the walls of this *Ê-nina-a* was the *gi-rin-azag*, "the sacred 'bridal-bed'" of Ishtar and Dumuzi, *B. E.*, XXVII, no. 1, col. IV : 39. This would show that the *Ê-nina-a* or "splendid, glorious, shining house" is in all respects a syn. of *Ê(E)-ri-a*, for which see *H. A. V.*, p. 398; Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 3, no. 2, col. II : 43ff., and cf. the *Ê-a-ri* = *bît ar-da-tum*, "house of the maidens", "harem", *R. H.*, p. 83 : 29, 30.

<sup>2</sup> *Nimur* (Br. 9712) as well as *SHE-MUR* (Br. 7486) are the Assyrian *tumru* = ?, Delitzsch, *H. W. B.*, p. 711a; = "*Salpeter, Salz*", Jensen, *K. B.*, VI<sup>1</sup>, p. 447; = "*pain (cuit sous la) cendre*", de Genouillae, *R. A.*, VII (1910), p. 113; cf. also Huber, *H. A. V.*, p. 213.

<sup>3</sup> The juxtaposition of *û* and *ga* occurs quite frequently in the Dumuzi texts, cf., e. g., Macmillan, *B. A.*, V, p. 679, no. 32 : 11, 12:

11 *û ši-ib-ba-ge*

12 *sûb-ba û ši-ib-ba-ge*

"Of good *û*,

"Shepherd(?), of good *û*

also *l. c.*, ll. 16, 17:

16 *û gùr-ru-a û la-ba-da-gaz*

17 *ga gùr-ru-a ga la-ba-da-gaz*

"From whom *û* has been

taken away, with *û* shall

he not be made to abound?


"From whom *ga* has been

taken away, etc.?

Similar is Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 4, no. 2, col. III : 19, 20,

19 *û nu-me-en-na*

*ga ši-ib-ba-[ge...]*

*ga--da-[...]*, i. e.,

of good *ga* (sc. the provider thou art?)

of good *ga* (sc. the provider thou art?);

*ta-shû mu-lu in-gam*

*ta-shû* (sc. *mu-lu in-gam*), i. e.,

Why must one be in distress?

Why etc.?

*u ba-an-da-bal-e*

13. *amash ū<sup>3</sup>-il<sup>4</sup>-la*

"The fold, from which the  
cream has been taken away,

*ū-ba-an-gub-ba-zu*

with cream thou suppliest it,

14. *amash ga-il-la*


"The fold, from which the milk has  
been taken away,

*ga-ba-an-gub-ba-zu*

with milk thou suppliest it!"

According to this passage Dumuzi is the "shepherd" (?)<sup>5</sup> of the "fold" (ll. 1, 2), the "shepherd (?), lord Dumuzi"<sup>6</sup> (l. 5), or merely the "shepherd (?) Dumuzi";<sup>7</sup> his habitation is the "shepherd (?) -hill" of which he is the "lord" (l. 6).

It will be noticed that I have made a "?" behind "shepherd", and this for some good and urgent reasons.

First of all, it should be remarked that the reading of the sign  = *súb* is new. In favor of this reading the following:

The "shepherd (?) -hill" appears in the Dumuzi texts in three different writings:

1) *Du(l)-súb-ba(bi)*<sup>8</sup>,20 *ga nu-me-en-na*

"Where *ū* not is,

"Where *ga* not is,

*ga ba-an-da-gaz, i. e.,*

with *ū* he maketh to overflow,

with *ga* he maketh to abound".

Comparing this with the parallel passage in *l. c.*, p. 27, no. 26, col. IV : 28, 29,

28 *ú nu-me-a**ú ga(sic! read ba)-an-da-ab-[bal-e]*29 *ga nu-me-a**ga ba-an-da-ab-gaz,*

the conclusion might seem justified that *ū* = *ú* = "food"; and this the more so as Scheil, *R.A.*, VIII, p. 168, Rev., I : 103/4, the duplicate of Zimmern no. 2, has *ú...kú*, "to eat food", and *a...nag*, "to drink water", for *ū...bal* and *ga...gaz*. On the other hand it ought to be noticed that in *C. T.*, XV, 10 : 12, we find for *ū...ga* the expression *NI* (generally read *ía*)...*ga*, for we read:

*ù-mu-un NI erin-na**ga nunuz am-da-ma-al-la, i. e.,*

"Lord (= Enlil), who maketh sparkling oil and sweet milk to be in plenty".

This *NI* occurs also in the well-known expression *rū NI-nun*, "honey and cream", cf. *H.A.V.*, no. 2 : 9, 11; Gudea, Statue E, VI : 24 = G, V : 18; *Cyl. B.*, III : 18, 24, and especially the *É-rū-NI-nun*, "house of honey and cream", Hilprecht, *O. B. I.*, no. 21 (= *E. B. H.*, p. 271) : 13, which in our no. 10 : 2, appears as *É-rū-ū-nun*. Remembering, furthermore, that "honey, cream and milk" were the three sacrifices *par excellence* offered to the gods, more particularly to Ishtar-Dumuzi, there is no reason why *ū* should not be the reading of *NI*, rather than a variant of *ú*. *NI*, then, had besides *ía* also the pronunciation *ū*.

Notice also that the *ū-azag*, "pure cream", was especially sacred to, and the emblem of, *dNinā*, Gudea, *Cyl. A.*, XIV : 23.

<sup>4</sup> *íl* = *gùr* (see preceding note) = *nashû*, "to take away". Cream and milk which has been taken away, does not exist, is not there any more, hence, *íl*, *gùr* = syn. of *nu-me-a*.

<sup>5</sup> Written either *súb-ba*, no. 1, col. IV : 3; cf. also above p. 35, note 7; or *súb-bí*, no. 7, Obv., 11.


<sup>6</sup> Cf. also *IV R.*, 27, no. 1 : 1/2 (see above, p. 37, note 1; no. 5, Rev., 11 : 8, *súb-ba en dDumu-zi nu-ti-il*, "the shepherd(?), the lord D. lives no more"; *C. T.*, XV, 18 : 9, *súb-ba en dDumu-zi nu-un-ti(l)*; *l. c.*, 19 : 3, *a-dan súb-ba en dDumu-zi*. See also above, p. 33, *dDumu-zi EN SIB sha dA-nim*.






<sup>7</sup> *C. T.*, XV, 28 : 6, *súb-ba dDumu-zi-dé sha(b)-azag-ga-na A-nim*, "shepherd(?) D. by the (his) pure choice (heart) of An".

<sup>8</sup> No. 1, col. II : 10, *A-ra-li Du(l)-súb-ba*; no. 6, col. I : 6, *ù-mu-un Du(l)-súb-ba*; *C. T.*, XV, 18 : 10, *ù-mu-un-e Du(l)-súb-ba*; *IV R.*, 27, no. 1 : 3, *umun A-ra-li umun Du(l)-súb-ba*; Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 38, no. 32, col. III : 5, *ù-mu-un Du(l)-súb-bi-ge*.



2) *Du-su-ba(bi)*<sup>1</sup>,

3) *Du(l)-**-ba*<sup>2</sup>;

4) Bertin, *J. R. A. S.*, XVII, p. 65, col. I : 6, has  = *su-ug* = *u-zu-zu* (root *nazâzu*).

But *nazâzu* is also = , i. e., *shù(g)*, or , i. e., *shù(g)-shù(g)*, see IV *R.*, 30 : 3/4b, *mu-un-shù(g)-shù(g)-gi-esh* = *i-za-zu*, cf. Zimmern, *Z. A.*, XIV, p. 389; Thureau-Dangin, *Z. A.*, XVIII, p. 191, 6. Hence,  in *EME-KU* = *sùg*, variant of  = *shù(g)*, which in *EME-SAL* becomes *sùb*, *su-ba(bi)*, *shù(b)* = . For the interchange of “*g*” and “*b*” and of “*s*” and “*sh*”, see Fossey, *H. A. V.*, p. 110 : 12; p. 119 : 43.

But what would be the meaning of *Du(l)-sùb-ba* from this point of view? Zimmern renders it by “*Hirtenwohnung*” and Langdon by “*sheep-folds*” — translations based, no doubt, on IV *R.*, 27, no. 1 : 1/2, where *sùb-ba en* <sup>d</sup>*Dumu-zi* is translated by *ri-é-um be-lim* <sup>d</sup>*Dumu-zi*, “shepherd, lord *D.*” In view of the passages given above, it is, however, somewhat doubtful whether the Semitic translation *ri-é-um* is justified in this particular case, and this for the simple reason that *sùb* changes with *shù(b)*. Two explanations would seem to suggest themselves, either *shù(b)* has also the meaning “shepherd”, or *sùb* is merely a variant of *shù(b)*. If the latter be true, a translation “hill of the beautiful one” or “beautiful hill” might be suggested, thus making *du(l)-shù(b)-ba* a synonym of *du(l)-azag-ga*, “holy hill”.<sup>3</sup> In support of the latter view the following facts may be mentioned:

Dumuzi is very often called <sup>d</sup>*KA-DI i-bi-shù(b)-ba*<sup>4</sup>, which is translated in *R. H.*, 153, col. III : 10ff., by <sup>d</sup>*KA-DI sha pa-ni ba-nu-[ú]*, i. e., “K. of (with) beautiful<sup>5</sup> eyes (face)”. Cf. also *C. T.*, XXV, 6 : 10, <sup>d</sup>*Igi-* (= <sup>d</sup>*KA-DI*, l. 9) *I-gi-shu-ba-shù* *SHÛ(B)* |  (= <sup>d</sup>*KA-DI*); K. 4337, col. III : 11, where the “river of Dumuzi” is called: <sup>id</sup> *Shu-ba SHÛ(B)*, “beautiful river”, or “river of the beautiful one”; and notice that in *C. T.*, XXV, 27a : 15, the <sup>d</sup> *Shu-ba SHÛ(B)* is identified with <sup>d</sup>*Utu*, the Dumuzi of the Ur trinity and the *ἑὸς βοῦλαῖος* of the month *Ezen*-<sup>d</sup>*Dumuzi*, “festival of *D.*” = *Tashrîtu* = March-April (time before Nabonassar),<sup>6</sup> the month during which the marriage and resurrection festivals of Dumuzi were celebrated.

Seeing, then, that in the expression *du(l)-sùb(shù(b))-ba* the *sùb* and *shù(b)* are used interchangeably, it may very well be possible that Dumuzi as the *sùb-ba* was originally

<sup>1</sup> No. 5, Rev., II : 9, [*ù-mu-un-*] *e Du-su-ba nu-ti-il*; Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 2, no. 1, col. III : 11, *A-ra-li Du-su-bi*.

<sup>2</sup> No. 1, col. III : 9, *A-ra-li Du(l)-shù(b)-ba*; above, p. 20 : 25; Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 39, no. 34 : 6a, *ù-mu-un-e Du(l)-shù(b)-ba*.

<sup>3</sup> Or better still of the *Gi-gùn*, “the beautiful place”, see *B. E.*, Series D, vol. VI.

<sup>4</sup> Macmillan, *B. A.*, V, p. 674 : 7; IV *R.*, 27, no. 1, *add* p. 6a : 9; IV *R.*, 30, no. 2, Obv., 18; Rev., 6 = *R. H.*, p. 67 : 17; *C. T.*, XV, 20 : 6.

<sup>5</sup> For *banû* in this sense see Jensen, *K. B.*, VI<sup>1</sup>, p. 412.

<sup>6</sup> See *B. E.*, Series D, vol. VI, Table I : 7.



the "beautiful" one" and that consequently the *du(l)-súb-ba* was either the "beautiful hill" or the "hill of the beautiful one".

This observation helps us to explain still another name of Dumuzi, viz, the *li-bi-ir* (<sup>d</sup>)*Û-mu-un-sub* (𒌦𒍪)-*bí*, IV *R.*, 30, no. 2, Obv., 17; Rev., 5 = *R. H.*, p. 67 : 16; IV *R.*, 27, no. 1, add p. 6a : 8; Macmillan, *B. A.*, V, p. 674 : 9; *C. T.*, XV, 20 : 8; above, p. 21 : 38, who is called in the *EME-KU* texts <sup>d</sup>*Lugal-sub-bí*, II *R.*, 59, Rev., 44. Zimmern renders this name by "*Anführer, (Gott) Herr des Gebets*", and Langdon by "prince, lord of adoration". In view of the above given passages I prefer to see in *sub-bí* another variant of *súb-ba(bí)*, *shù(b)-ba(bí)* = "beautiful one", translating the whole by "bridegroom,<sup>2</sup> beautiful<sup>3</sup> lord". Cf. also Dumuzi's name <sup>d</sup>*Lugal-sub-bí*, "beautiful king", *C. T.*, XXV, 39c : 12. The similar name which designates Dumuzi as the <sup>d</sup>*En-ligir-si* = <sup>d</sup>*Umun-libir-si*, II *R.*, 59, Rev., 8, is, therefore, nothing but "the lord, the glorious bridegroom".

<sup>1</sup> This designation of Dumuzi is by no means isolated. Many other similar names have been ascribed to him, as, e. g., *i-bí-lum-lum*, *i-bí-lá-lá*, see above, p. 27, note 9; *i-bí-gún-nu-gún-nu-e* (parallel with *KA-hu-tu-ul-hu-tu-ul-e*, "the one of irresistible voice"), see *C. T.*, XV, 18 : 27; *B. E.*, Series D, vol. VI; <sup>d</sup>*Lugal-igi-hur<sup>hu</sup>-ra*, "the beautiful (*hur* = *banú*, M. 6404) king", followed by <sup>d</sup>*Lugal-igi-ra-mah-di*, "the valiant (youthful) king with benign countenance (*pán riḥṣu*)", *C. T.*, XXV, 38e : 1, 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Li-bi-ir* = *susapīnu* = 𒌦𒍪𒌦𒍪, "*Brautführer*", Zimmern, *S. B. T.*, p. 212, and references there given. For *li-bi-ir* used in this sense in the Sumerian lenten songs, cf. also *R. H.*, p. 101 : 48/9, where Ishtar complains:

<i>úru ki(!)-el-bi</i>	<i>nu-hul-lu-[e-ne]</i>
<i>úru kal-bi</i>	<i>nu-li-bi-[ir-e-ne]</i>
"The city's maidens	do not rejoice any more,
"The city's youths	do not lead home the bride any more".

Cf. also Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 43, no. 40, Rev., 4.

<sup>3</sup> For *súb*, *shù(b)*, *sub* with the meaning "beautiful, glorious", cf., among others, the following: [<sup>d</sup>*Nin-tin-dib*]-*ba* <sup>sal</sup>*egi su-ub An-na*, "the glorious princess of An", no. 9, col. I : 4; <sup>d</sup>*Bi-li-li*, the sister of Dumuzi, calls herself *KA(?) azag-gi-ne su-ub-ba me-en*, "among those of radiant countenance (?) the most beautiful (glorious) one I am". In *C. T.*, XV, 23b : 9, the goddess Girgilu is described as *gab-ni su-ub azag-ga al-sun-e*, "she whose glorious and pure bosom is beautiful". Whatever is beautiful may, according to Sumerian ideas, be "kissed", hence, *su-ub* = "to kiss, to adore, to worship" = *shub* (*labānu*).

This *su-ba* may sometimes be lengthened by *da* (cf. *ma-mu(mú)* = *ma-mu(mú)-da*) or by *du* (cf. *li-da* = *li-du* = *li-di* = *li*; *si-im-da* = *si-im-du* = *si-im*; *ash-da* = *ash-du* = *ash*), hence, we find that Ishtar calls herself <sup>sal</sup>*egi su-ba-da mi-en*, "the glorious, beautiful princess I am", Pinches, *Manch.*, V : 24. <sup>d</sup>*Nin-a-zu of IM<sup>ki</sup>* is called the *en KA-sub-da-ge*, "lord of (among) those of beautiful face"; cf. Gudea, *Cyl. A.*, XXVII : 16, *Ē...a-rū-bi-ta KA-sub-da*, "by its (the temple's) mead the mouth (face) was delighted (made pleasant)". In *R. H.*, p. 86 : 5 = 134, col. II : 14/5 = 138 : 100/1, appears the *Umun-ma-da sub-bí An-na*, who in *C. T.*, XXIV, 11 : 34 = 24 : 51, is called merely <sup>d</sup>*Nin-ma-da-sub*, and who in *C. B. M.*, 112 : 11, is represented by *Û-mu-un-ma-da shu-du An-na*, "the lord of the land, the beautiful one of An (heaven or universe)"; here, then, *súb* is = *shu* + *du* = *shù(g)* = *shù(b)*. With this *shu-du* cf. the *shu-du UB-ba-ge*, *shu-du DA-ge*, Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 8, no. 4, col. IV : 7/8; p. 6, no. 3, col. III : 3. Whether *B. E.*, XXVII, no. 1, col. VIII : 7, where <sup>d</sup>*KA-DI* is called the 𒌦𒍪𒌦𒍪 *An-na*, has to be referred here, is doubtful.

Ishtar of Hallabi is called <sup>d</sup>*Innanna-shù(b)-unu(g)<sup>ki</sup>*, "the beautiful Ishtar of Ereeh", *B. E.*, XXVII, no. 1, col. VI : 33; the *ama shu-ba*, "the beautiful mother", Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 5, no. 3, col. I : 25; her temples are the *Ē-an-na shu-ub-ba*, *Gī-pár-7 shu-ub-ba*, *Har-sag-kalam-ma shu-ub-ba*, *Ē-túr-kalam-ma shu-ub-ba*, *l. c.*, p. 42, no. 39, Obv., 3ff. (cf. 1. 2, ... *shu-ub-ba-am*). The star *Lum-ma* is Enlil of *Shù(b)<sup>ki</sup>*, see above, p. 27, note 9; for *Shù(b)<sup>ki</sup>* cf. also Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 21, no. 22, Obv., 7. An *é-shù(b)-ba*, "beautiful house", occurs in no. 13, Rev., 2 (cf. ll. 3, 4). In *N. F.*, AO 4346, Obv., 8, 9, we find the <sup>2d</sup>*shù(b) shu-ba*, "the beautiful *Shubí-stones*" (cf. Sm. 954 : 19. 20).

But whether we translate *du(l)-súb-ba* by "shepherd-hill" or by "beautiful hill" matters, in the last instance, very little; the chief thing is that it is identified with the *A-ra-li*,<sup>1</sup> the great and extended field (*edin*)<sup>2</sup> over which Dumuzi as shepherd and lord keeps guard:

*edin-ki*

"Over the netherworld

*en-nu-ùg-gà mu-un-da-ab-dū(dú(g))*

he keepeth guard".<sup>3</sup>

The netherworld, then, is the great "fold" where all living creatures have to spend, at one time or another, their "night" (*û-zal*), where all are at rest. From thence they are "led out" by the "great shepherd of the sheep", Dumuzi, on the "great morning", the spring and resurrection morning, to wend their way as "stars" in the heavens.

To this place goes<sup>4</sup> Ishtar, the "Bride", to be joined with the "Lamb" in holy wedlock. The netherworld becomes in this wise not only the *ki-sha(g)-kush-shà*<sup>5</sup> *in-nin*<sup>6</sup> *edin-ka*,<sup>7</sup> "the place where the heart of the mistress of the edin is at rest", but also and especially an *edin-na ki-azag-ga* = *ši-rim ash-ri el-li*,<sup>8</sup> "a holy place", a *ki-(a)-ri-a*,<sup>9</sup> a "place of begetting", a "bridal-chamber".<sup>10</sup>

Col. II : 4. *KUR-GUL-GUL*. This expression occurs quite frequently in the Dumuzi-Ishtar texts; cf. *e. g.*,

No. 9, col. II : 18ff.:

18. *er na-mu-un-ma-al*

"In wailing on account of him  
I break out,

*me-e na-mu-un-ti-li*

I, on account of him who does  
not live;

19. *mu-gib-an-na*

"I, the holy one of An,

*Ga-sha-an-an-na mèn*

the mistress of An,

20. *kur-gul-gul*

"I, the destroyer of the mountain,

*Ga-sha-an-É-an-na mèn*

the mistress of É-an,

21. [<sup>9</sup>*Nin-tin-dib*]-*ba*

"I, who quickens the dead to life,

*Ga-sha-an-Gi-būr-ra mèn*

the mistress of *Gipar*";

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 39, note 5; 40, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. already above, p. 36, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> *C. T.*, XV, 27 : 45 = 30 : 20. Cf. above, p. 34, note 13.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 27, note 7, and *C. T.*, XV, 28 : 22, *û-ba mulu sib-bi edin-shú ba-ra-è*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the *ki-kush-shà* above, p. 22 : 8, and the *ki-sha(b)-she(d)-da*, p. 22 : 14.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. <sup>4</sup>*Nin-edin*, <sup>4</sup>*Innanna-edin*, above, p. 18.

<sup>7</sup> *B. E.*, XXVII, no. 1, col. IV : 37.

<sup>8</sup> *IV R.*, 8 : 42b; 14, no. 2, Rev., 1.

<sup>9</sup> *H. A. V.*, p. 398. For the Semitic translation see above, p. 25, note 6.

<sup>10</sup> It is probably needless to mention it here that the so-called *Gú-edin* of Nin-Girsu reflects the various conceptions which the people of Girsu, at the time of Gudea, entertained with regard to the netherworld. Space, however, forbids to treat of the same here.

No. 12 : 2ff.:

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 2. <i>é-gul-la ki-bi</i>                            | <i>me-na gí-gí-mu</i>  |
| “My house which has been<br>destroyed, to its place | when will it be restored?”   |
| 3. <i>nu-gib-an-na</i>                              | <i>Ga-sha-an-an-na mèn</i>   |
| “(Cry) I, the holy one of An,                       | the mistress of An,  |
| 4. <i>kur-gul-gul</i>                               | <i>Ga-sha-an-É-an-na mèn</i>   |
| “I, the destroyer of the mountain,                  | the mistress of <i>É-an</i> ;  |
| 5. <i>É-ma-mú-da</i> <sup>1</sup>                   | <i>ma-dū-a-mu</i>  |
| “My <i>ma-mu-da</i> ,                               | which has been built for me, (sc. to its<br>place when will it be restored?)”. |

In Zimmern. *S. K.*, p. 33, no. 29a : 1 ff., we read:

- |  |                                      |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| 1. [ <i>mu-lu</i> ?] <i>edin-na</i>                      | <i>ta úl-li mu-ni-ib-gin</i>         |
| 2. <i>mu-gí(g)-ib Ga-sha-an-an-na</i>                    | <i>edin-na</i>                       |
| 3. <i><sup>sa</sup>egi-mah kur-gul-gul</i>               | <i>edin-na</i>                       |
| 4. <i>Ga-sha-an-ḥar-sag-kalam-ma</i>                     | <i>edin-na</i> , i. e.,              |
| “To the lord of the netherworld,                         | why shall I (she) go?                |
| “The holy one, the mistress of An,                       | to the netherworld (sc. why etc.?),  |
| “The sublime mistress, the destroyer<br>of the mountain, | to the netherworld (sc. why etc. ?)” |

Also in *l. c.*, p. 43, no. 40 : 4a, the [*kur-gu*]-*ul-gu-ul Ka-sha-an-É-[an-na]* follows immediately upon the [*mu-gí(g)-i*]*b Ka-sha-an-na-na*. In *R. H.*, p. 132 : 31 = Craig, *R. T.*, I, 19 : 15, the *kur-gul-gul Ga-sha-an-É-an-na* is mentioned between the *ama mu-gí(g)-ib Gashan-É-túr-kalam-ma* and the *<sup>sa</sup>egi-zi-da gashan-mu <sup>a</sup>Na-na-a*, while in the parallel passage, *R. H.*, p. 87 : 22 = 92 : 9 = 135, col. III : 7, *Gashan-É-an-na* (= *be-lit É-an-na*) occurs between *Gashan-É-ḥub-ka(sic)-ba* (= *<sup>a</sup>Ish-ta-rit <sup>a</sup>A-nim <sup>a</sup>Nin-É-ḥub-ba*) and *<sup>sa</sup>egi-zi-da Gashan-Ni-na(d)-a* (= *ru-ba-tum kit-tum <sup>a</sup>Nin-Ninā<sup>ki</sup>*, see also above, p. 38, note 1).

The same attribute is ascribed to *<sup>a</sup>Gír-gí-lu* (= Ishtar, II *R.*, 59, Rev., 13), *C. T.*, XV, 23 : 3; to two of Nin-ib's weapons, viz., to the *mes kur-gul-gul* (= *mu-ab-bit shadi-i*) *<sup>a</sup>Ūg-BA-nu-il-la*, “hero, destroyer of the mountain, storm, who grants no pardon”, and to the *ni(g)-kur-gul-gul <sup>is</sup>h HUG-idim-an-na*, “destroyer of the mountain, weighty (lit. death-bringing) weapon of An”, Hrozný, *Ninrag*, p. 12 : 25, 29. For similar expressions in connection with other gods and goddesses, see *H. A. V.*, p. 441, note 5, where such terms are

<sup>1</sup> For *ma-mú-da* cf. *B. E.*, XXIX, p. 36, note 2, and notice the peculiar translations in the duplicate text *R. H.*, p. 60 : 21/2, *bítu sha ki-ma shu-ut-tim in-ni-ip-sha-am; bítu sha te-dish-tim*, “the house which ‘like a dream’ has been built”: “the house of renewal”. The Semitic translator apparently did not know any more the force of the *da*, i. e., that *ma-mú* is = *ma-mú-da*, cf. p. 41, note 3.

mentioned as *kab(gab, káb)-gaz kur-ra, ħur-ra-an kur-kur-ra, kur-kur-ra si(g)-si(g)-gi* — all with the meaning *mu-di-ik-ti shadi-i*, “smiter of the mountain”. Cf. also no. 12 : 15 = *R. H.*, p. 60 : 5, 6b = *K.* 41, col. I : 5, 6; *R. H.*, p. 27 : 34; Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 15, no. 11 : 3, 22, etc.

This “mountain” which the mistress of *É-an*, *i. e.*, Ishtar as goddess of war, destroys, was originally the mountaineous region in the “north” of, and inimical to, Babylonia, inhabited by the Guti, Lulubi and Elamites, see *B. E.*, XXIX, p. 64; Series D, vol. V<sup>2</sup>, p. 61. But as the “north” was, according to Sumerian conception, the region of the “nether-world”, *kur* acquired this significance likewise. The destruction of this mountain or nether-world has become an accomplished fact when Ishtar, at the time of the vernal equinox, appears in the heavens as “*virgo*” (month *Elul* = February-March) and “*Mother*” or “*Ninmah*” (month *Tashrîtu* = March-April), *i. e.*, when she as *Proserpina* has left the winter-half (*kur-ta...è*<sup>1</sup>) and has become the *Venus* of the summer-half of the year.

*Kur*, when used in the sense of “netherworld”, is generally translated in Semitic by *iršitum*. Thus we find, among others, the following expressions:

*Gab-kur-ra*<sup>2</sup> = *i-rat ir-ši-tim*, “breast (bosom) of the netherworld”, to which Dumuzi has gone (*i-in-di*), *IV R.*, 30, no. 2 : 22; Thureau-Dangin, *N. F.*, AO. 4328, Rev., II : 6, 7; Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 26, no. 26, col. IV : 3. — *Kur-DIG-na* = *ir-ši-tum mi-tu-ti*, “land of the dead”, where Dumuzi spends the “night”, dwells or rests (*û-zal*), *IV R.*, 30, no. 2 : 24; notice here that the parallel passage, Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 26, no. 26, col. IV : 4, has *kur-ħu-ù[r]*<sup>3</sup>. Cf. also the *kur-DIG* in *B. E.*, XXVII, no. 1, col. I : 30, where it is in parallelism with *kur-me-te-gál*. — *Kur-idim-ma*,<sup>4</sup> “land of the dead”, no. 2 : 35. — *Kur-a-she-ir-ra-ge* = *ir-ši-tim ta-ni-ħi*, “the land where one cries out: ‘alas!’”<sup>5</sup>. — *Kur-nu-gi(gi,ga)-a*, “land without return”, to which Ishtar goes and of which *En-me-shar-ra* is the “lord”.<sup>6</sup> Notice also that *É-kur* very often has the meaning of *É-kur-idim*, “*É-kur of the dead*” = *A-ra-li*. In the dialogue between Ishtar (*Ga-sha-an-tin-dib-ba*) and Dumuzi (= *Da-mu ħu-mu Û-mu-un-mu(sh)-zi-da*), after the former had complained to her “Son” that on account of her

<sup>1</sup> *C. T.*, XV, 23b : 13, here said of the *salēgi Ga-sha-an-Gir-gi-lu*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *gab-kishib-ba*, above, p. 22 : 8.

<sup>3</sup> Is this a mistake for *ħu-bu-ur* = *Subartu*? Cf. our remarks on *edin-Ī A-A*, above, p. 24ff. Or has this to be emended to *ħu-ur-ra-an*, the well-known variant of *gab-gaz kur-ra*, *H. A. V.*, p. 437 : 5, 7? Or, lastly, does *kur-ħu-ur* mean here “the beautiful mountain” or “mountain of the beautiful one?” Cf. *Lugal-igi-ħur-ra* = Dumuzi, above, p. 41, note 1, and Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 57, no. 75 : 5ff., where *Mar-tu* says of himself: *mulu ħu-ur DI-NE mèn*, “the beautiful one among the herdsmen (cf. *mulu DI-NA*, above, p. 30) I am”.

<sup>4</sup> This *ma* shows that we must not read *kur-bad*; but cf. *Lugal-ki-bad-du* | *Lugal-a-la-nu-u*, *II R.*, 47 : 30c, d; *C. T.*, XIX, 47 : 17c, d, in which Zimmern, *B. G. T.*, p. 11, no. 28, sees a name for Dumuzi as the “*Verschwundener, Entfloher*”. Cf. also the *bît Dumu-zi sha ki-bad*, *K.* 3089 = Pinches, *P. S. B. A.*, XXII (1900), p. 359; the *ki-bad-du-ge i-dib na-àm-ir-ra* in the Dumuzi text, *C. T.*, XV, 26 : 1—4; the *gi-bad-di-en A-ra-li A-ra-li*, above, p. 36, note 2, and the *ki-bad-du* = *nisātu*, “far-off regions”, *Br.* 1525.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. above, pp. 19, note 10; 20 : 29; 22 : 12. See also *ki-sir-ra ki-mah er-ra-ka*, above, p. 21 : 37, and *ki-she-ir*, Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 40, no. 35, Rev., 2ff.; p. 47, no. 51, Rev., 9.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 32, note 10; *II R.*, 32, 19a, *et passim*.

wailings for him she has become completely exhausted, that even in her own habitation she has no rest any more, the latter answers his "mother who had given birth to him" as follows:

No. 2, Obv., 33ff.:

33. *kal-a[n-na me]-en* *mulu kur-al*<sup>1</sup>  
 "The youthful one of An I am, the man (lord) of the 'land without strength',
34. *en [.....] me-en* *mulu kur-de*<sup>2</sup>  
 "Lord of.... I am, the man (lord) of the 'mount of destruction',
35. *iri-[damal-mu]* *kur-idim-ma-mu*  
 "My extended abode is the 'land of the dead',
36. *en [me-e]n A-ra-li* *ki-sag NUN-KI-DA-mu*  
 "Lord I am, the Arali is the place of my doom,
37. *kal me-en kur<sup>3</sup>-ri su(d)-du-shú* *im-ma-ab-gin me-en*  
 "The youthful one (hero) I am, to the far-off land, verily, I must go  
*û-me-e-na-zal-[e]*<sup>4</sup>  
 "To pass my days there".

<sup>1</sup> Translation is doubtful. I take *al* to stand for *al-lá* = *á-lá* = *al*. Cf. here the variants of *ù-lul-la*, above, p. 35, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> Or should we translate here: "who destroys the mountain?" See also Scheil, *R. A.*, VIII, p. 168 : 101/2 = Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 4, no. 2, col. III : 17/8, *kur-ra ni-de*, and cf. in this connection the name *Lugal-kur-dúb* = "the king who destroys the mountain" and his attribute: *kur gú-NE-RU-gál* *En-lil-lá-ka a-dím gà-gà*, "who like the (storm-)flood lays low all lands inimical to Enlil", Gudea, Cyl. B, VII : 17ff. (cf. X : 22). Of Zagaga of Kish it is said: *zi-da-zu kur-dúb-bu gúb-bu-zu NE-RU gál-e*, "thy right (hand) stretcheth down the mountain, thy left (hand) scatters the wicked", *B. E.*, XXVII, no. I, col. VIII : 36. Notice also the name of the "divine bird" *Kur-shu-na-shè<sup>hu</sup>*, "by his hand the mountain(s) tremble(s)", Cyl. B, VIII : 8.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *ki-su(d)* = *KI-tim ru-ug-ti*, occurring in the Dumuzi text IV *R.*, 30, no. 2 : 34.

<sup>4</sup> This line is certainly against the rhythm of the hymn. Are we to see in it a "sigh", expressing either the singer's or the editor's feelings: "how long still (*me-e-na* = *me-en-na* = *a-di ma-ti*) is he to pass his days there?" Such "sighs" are by no means unusual in these hymns. Cf., e. g., no. 2, Rev., 75, *a sha(b)-ba-ni a-ba(sic) bar-ra-ni*, "how long still till his heart, how long still till his soul", or "would that his heart, etc.", or "when at last will his heart, etc." (*sc.* he quieted, appeased, be at rest). Similarly also in *H. A. V.*, no. 14, Rev., 16, *a sha(b)-ba-ni a bar-ra-ni*, and Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 23, no. 25, col. II : 41, *salgi-da(l) a sha(b)-ni a bar-ra-ni*, "like the princess (*i. e.*, Ishtar, *sc.* sing the litany:) 'how long still, etc.'"

For such a juxtaposition of *sha(b)* and *bar*, cf. *R. H.*, 115 : 30, where *a sha(b) ib-ba-zu* (= *a-hu-lap lib-bi-ka ag-gi*) is parallel with *a bar su-mu-ug-ga-zu-ta* (= *a-hu-lap ka-bit-ti-ka i-dir-tum*); *C. T.*, XV, 20 : 12, *kal-e a sha(b)-ba-ni a bar-ra-ni* (followed by *súb-ba* *Dumu-zi-dé a su-mu-ug-ga-ni*, see p. 29, note 5; *R. H.*, p. 99 : 56/7, *sha(b)-zu he-en-hug-gà bar-zu he-en-she(d)-dé* = *lib-ba-ka li-nu-uh ka-bit-ta-ka lip-shah*; Gudea, Cyl. B, X : 16, *sha(g) shú* (= *hug*)-*gà-da bar shú-gà-da*, "damit er zufriedenstelle das Herz, zufriedenstelle das Gemüt" (Th.-D.); Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 17, no. 12, col. II : 15, *sha(b)-bi lil-lá-ám bar-bi lil-lá-ám*, "is like the wind"; *l. c.*, p. 23, no. 25, col. III : 31, *uru sha(b)-ab-ba-na uru bar-ra-na* [...].

Dumuzi is, however, not only the *mulu kur-al* or *mulu kur-de*, but also the *alim kur-ra*,<sup>1</sup> “the mighty one of the netherworld”, the *sib kur-ra*,<sup>2</sup> “shepherd of the netherworld”, or simply the *mulu kur-ra*,<sup>3</sup> “lord of the netherworld”. To this *kur* he “goes” (*gin*) or “rides”, both by means of a “ship”<sup>4</sup> and by “wagon”<sup>5</sup>.

*GA-SHA-AN-É-AN-NA*, “mistress of *É-an-na*”. For *É-an-na* see above, pp. 9 ff., and note that the *gal É-an-na*, “the great one of *É-an-na*”, is the *Gashan-Ī-si-in-ki-na*, “mistress of Isin” (= *Gula*, the principal daughter of *Ir-ra*), *R. H.*, p. 93 : 5; 94 : 5; 89 : 8, sometimes referred to as *sag-É* (? or *du, tu?*)-*an-na*, “the foremost, chief one of *É-an-na*”, *R. H.*, p. 86 : 10 (cf. p. 154); 134, col. II : 23, being in this respect similar to the *“alegi Ga-sha-an-É-an-na*, “princess (*rubātum*), mistress of *É-an-na*”, no. 13 : 12; *R. H.*, p. 99 : 65; 104 : 11; Sm. 954 : 18; Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 50, no. 59 : 12, or the *e-gi Ka-sha-an-É-an-na*, Zimmern, *l. c.*, p. 7, no. 4, col. I : 32; col. II : 23. In nearly all passages quoted the *Gashan-É-an-na* follows upon *Gashan-an-na*, who is omitted here. She it is who bewails, as here, the disappearance of her “husband” and “son”, Scheil, *R. A.*, VIII, p. 162, Obv., col. I : 3 ff. = Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 3, no. 2, col. I : 3 ff., and the destruction of her temple *É-an-na*, *R. H.*, p. 12 : 14; *C. T.*, XV, 26 : 6; 19 : 5 (here called *“Innanna*).

Col. II : 5. *AMA Û-MU-UN-NA GA-SHA-AN-SUN-NA*. Ishtar or Nin-anna, the mistress of *É-an-na* and wife of *An*, is here the *Ga-sha-an-sun*,<sup>6</sup> “the glorious, beautiful lady”, and the “mother”<sup>7</sup> of the *ù-mu-un*<sup>8</sup> or “lord”, *i. e.*, of Dumuzi, her son. Among the “sons” of *An* and *Nin-anna* are known, among others, *Enlil*, *MAR-TU*, *IM*, *Sin* — all of whom, therefore, must have been considered, at one time or another or at one place or another, to be the Dumuzi. Remembering, furthermore, that the “mother” is at the same time also the “wife” of Dumuzi, the *Gashan-sun* or *Nin-anna* would have to be identified with *“Nin-lil* (wife











<sup>1</sup> *C. T.*, XV, 18 : 27/8.

<sup>2</sup> *N. F.*, AO. 4346, Rev., 7, 8.

<sup>3</sup> *N. F.*, AO. 4328, Rev., col. II : 3; cf. the *mulu edin*, above, p. 17.

<sup>4</sup> See *C. T.*, XV, 18 : 25/6, where it is said of Dumuzi that he *kur-ash ba-ū*. Cf. *II. A. V.*, no. 12 : 17, *ba-ū-a*[...]. 18, *a-a kur-shū ba-ū-a*[...], 19, *“Am-an-ki kur-shū ba-ū-a*[...]. The term *ū*, “to ride upon a ship”, proves indirectly that the *kur* was surrounded by water, which had to be crossed when entering or leaving the netherworld, see above, p. 26, note 3 and cf. Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 4, no. 2, col. III : 101/2.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the *har-ra-an gishginar-ra*, p. 20 : 31, and the *gishginar kur-mu-gam*, “the wagon which overcomes the *kur*”, Gudea, (yl. B, XII : 18.

<sup>6</sup> *Sun* =  = *ubbubu*, *ebbu*, is a variant of *su-su*, *su-na*, *su-ni*, Zimmern, *S. B. T.*, p. 245, 27; or of *sūn* or *shun* =  = *ebbu*, Br. 252; and a syn. of  = *sūn*, *shūb* (variant of *sūb*, *su-ba(bi)*, *sūg*, *shū(g)*, *shu-ub*, *shu-du*) = *banū* or *damqu* (= *shā(g)*, *sa-ga*, *sā-da*, *shīg*); of  = *sū*, *sī* (syn. of  = *sīg*, or  = *sīg*, or  = *sī(g)*, *sī*, or  = *sā*, or *sa*, *sā*) or also read *gūn* (= syn. of  = *gūn*, *sī*); of  = *sin*, *sim* — all of which expressions are used repeatedly in the several names and attributes of Ishtar and Dumuzi to convey the idea of their being “beautiful”, “glorious”, “graceful”.

<sup>7</sup> *“Gashan(Nin)-sun* is the “mother” also of *Gilgamesh*, *K. B.*, VI<sup>1</sup>, p. 438, of *Gudea* and of *Singashid* — both “kings of Erech”, see below.

<sup>8</sup> For this attribute see Zimmern, *B. G. T.*, p. 8, no. 38, and cf. above, p. 21 : 2, *ki-ù-mu-un*, “place of the ‘lord’”, *i. e.*, “place of Dumuzi” = “netherworld”.

of Enlil), with <sup>d</sup>Gú-ba(bar)-ra<sup>1</sup> = <sup>d</sup>Ashratum (wife of MAR-TU), with <sup>d</sup>Sha-la (wife of IM), and with <sup>d</sup>Nin-gal (wife of Sin). But Gashan-sun is the wife of <sup>d</sup>Lugal-banda.<sup>2</sup>

This Lugal-banda is according to *H. A. V.*, p. 416:

a) <sup>d</sup>En-lil, "lord of Kullab". But above, p. 35, note 6, we saw, that "lord of Kullab" is one of the names of Dumuzi; hence, Enlil = Dumuzi, and Gashan-sun = Nin-anna (as "mother") and = Ninlil (as "bride" and "wife" of Enlil).

b) <sup>d</sup>SUĜ, the "lord of Ashnumma", i. e., <sup>d</sup>Nin-ib,<sup>3</sup> the son of Enlil. Nin-ib, accordingly, must likewise have played the rôle of Dumuzi, while Gashan-sun must have been the same as Ninlil (= "mother") and Ba-ú (= "bride" and "wife" of Nin-ib). In corroboration of this the following passages may be mentioned:

In *C. T.*, XV, 22 : 19, the goddess Ba-ú has among other titles also that of *ama Ga-sha-an-sun-na*, for which the duplicate text, Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 4, no. 2 : 31a, gives the variant *ama ga-sha-an ki-La-ga-sa*, "mother, mistress of Lagash"; but the "mistress of Lagash", Ba-ú, was the wife of Enlil's son <sup>d</sup>Nin-Girsu,<sup>4</sup> who is, as is well-known, identified with <sup>d</sup>Nin-ib.<sup>5</sup> Also in Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 6, no. 3 : 31b, <sup>d</sup>Nin-sun appears in connection with <sup>d</sup>Nin-ib, <sup>d</sup>Nin-Gir-su and <sup>d</sup>Pa-bil-sag,<sup>6</sup> while in *l. c.*, p. 15, no. 11 : 19a, *Ga-sha-an-sun* is called *ama i-ra*, "mother of the city (?)", i. e., originally Erech, later on Nippur.<sup>7</sup> There can, then, be no doubt that Gashan-sun was also a name for Ba-ú, the wife of Nin-ib, who for this reason was called <sup>d</sup>En (= *Umun*)-banda<sup>8</sup> and who, therefore, must have played the rôle of the ù-mu-un or Dumuzi.

c) <sup>d</sup>Utu,<sup>9</sup> the son of Sin; the *Gashan-sun* from this point of view would be as "mother" = <sup>d</sup>Nin-gal, and as "bride" and "wife" = <sup>d</sup>Innanna or <sup>d</sup>Ishtar, the wife of Shamash.

But even this does not yet exhaust all possibilities in connection with the various and manifold transfers of the rôle of Dumuzi and Gashan-sun.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 17, note 2, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> For this god see already above, p. 31. In *R. H.*, p. 85 : 21 = 134, col. I : 9 = Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 16, no. 11, col. V : 26, the *ama umun-na* (<sup>d</sup>*Gashan-sun-na* (= *um-mi be-lim*) is followed by (<sup>d</sup>)*Umun-banda(da) umun Esh-nun-na<sup>ki</sup>* (= <sup>d</sup>*Lugal-banda(da) be-el Esh-nun-na<sup>ki</sup>*). In *II R.*, 59, Rev., 25, the <sup>d</sup>*Gashan(Nin)-sun* is mentioned after and appears as the "wife" (*dam-shù-sal*) of <sup>d</sup>*Umun (Lugal)-banda(da)*. Also in several seal inscriptions <sup>d</sup>*Lugal-banda(da)* and <sup>d</sup>*Nin-sun* are mentioned together, see Krausz, *Götternamen*, p. 36. Singashid, king of Erech, restorer and protector of *Ē-an-na*, couples both divinities; he calls himself "son (*dumu*) of <sup>d</sup>*Nin-sun*" (*Backstein A. 2*), refers to <sup>d</sup>*Lugal-banda(da)* as "his god" (*din-gir-ra-ni*) and to <sup>d</sup>*Nin-sun* as "his mother" (*ama-a-ni-ir*, *Tonnagel*, 1, 3), building for them the *Ē-ki-kal Ē-ki-tush sha(g)-hul-la-ka-ne-ne*, "the temple of the 'place of the youthful one', the habitation of the joy of their hearts", i. e., their "wedding chamber", where they are joined in holy wedlock.

<sup>3</sup> For <sup>d</sup>SUĜ = <sup>d</sup>Nin-ib see *C. T.*, XXV, 11 : 29; *H. A. V.*, p. 415, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> See "Creation-Story", pp. 40ff.

<sup>5</sup> *C. T.*, XXV, 13 : 29.

<sup>6</sup> For <sup>d</sup>Pa-bil-sag = <sup>d</sup>Nin-ib, see above, p. 14, and notes.

<sup>7</sup> See above, p. 8, note 1.

<sup>8</sup> *H. A. V.*, p. 417, a.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. especially *H. A. V.*, p. 418, no. 4.

Among the names of Dumuzi occurs one which designates him as the *dumu* (*tu-mu*) *U-mu-un-mu(sh)-zi-da*,<sup>1</sup> "son of<sup>2</sup> *Nin-gish-zi-da*".<sup>3</sup> According to this Dumuzi is the son of <sup>d</sup>*Nin-gish-zi-da* and <sup>d</sup>*Gashan-sun* or <sup>d</sup>*Ba-ú*. Both are frequently coupled together so as to appear as "husband and wife".<sup>4</sup> Statue E, VIII : 11 ff., records that Gudea brought his god <sup>d</sup>*Nin-gish-zi-da* to <sup>d</sup>*Ba-ú* into her temple at *Uru-azag-ga* ("holy city").<sup>5</sup> Statue G, II : 9 ff., tells us that <sup>d</sup>*Nin-gish-zi-da* was introduced into the temple after Gudea had presented the wedding presents to <sup>d</sup>*Nin-Gir-su* and <sup>d</sup>*Ba-u*.<sup>6</sup> In Cyl. B, XXIII : 18 ff., <sup>d</sup>*Nin-gish-zi-da* is said to be "the god" (*dingir*) and <sup>d</sup>*Nin-sun-na* the "divine mother" (*dingir-ama*) of Gudea. In designating them thus, Gudea tells us that <sup>d</sup>*Nin-sun-na* is the *ama-HE numun-zi-da numun-ki-ág-gà-ám*, "the mother who gives birth to the 'true offspring', who loves her offspring", and terms <sup>d</sup>*Nin-gish-zi-da* the *dumu-KA An-na-kam*. That the rendering of *dumu-KA* by "descendant" is merely a guess, is plain and goes without saying. But what does this term mean?

From *H. A. V.*, p. 420, it is evident that *KA* in <sup>gish</sup>*erin-na-KA* (*C. T.*, XV, 27 : 10) changes with *zu* in <sup>gish</sup>*erin-na-zu* of the duplicate passage, *C. T.*, XV, 30 : 13, hence, *KA* may be read *zú*, cf. also Br. 517. In the expression *i-bí-zu-bar-mu-un-shi-ib = ki-nish nap-li-is-su* of *R. H.*, p. 59 : 19/20, the *zu* is evidently a variant of *zi*; hence, *zú = zu = zi = kēnu, kēnish*, "true". This result justifies us to read <sup>d</sup>*Nin-gish-zi-da dumu-zú An-na-kam* and to translate it by "N., the 'true son' (*i. e.*, the Dumu-zi) of An". In doing so, we are enabled to establish the following two parallel genealogies:

*An* = *An*

<sup>d</sup>*Nin-gish-zi-da* = <sup>d</sup>*En-lil*

<sup>d</sup>*Dumu-zi* = son(s) of <sup>d</sup>*En-lil* (<sup>d</sup>*Sin*, <sup>d</sup>*Nin-ib*, <sup>d</sup>*Nin-Gir-su*, etc.).

This means

a) that <sup>d</sup>*Nin-gish-zi-da*, the "true son" of An, is merely another name of En-lil, the "son" of An;

b) that the rôle of <sup>d</sup>*Nin-gish-zi-da* (= <sup>d</sup>*En-lil*), the original *dumu-zú*, has been transferred to <sup>d</sup>*Dumu-zi*, the "son of *Umun-mu(sh)-zi-da*" (= son(s) of *En-lil*), *i. e.*, at the time of Gudea and of the kings of the II dynasty of Ur, the rôle of Dumuzi was played by <sup>d</sup>*Sin* at Ur, by <sup>d</sup>*Nin-ib* at Nippur and by <sup>d</sup>*Nin-Gir-su* at Lagash, with <sup>d</sup>*En-lil* (= <sup>d</sup>*Nin-gish-zi-da*) as "Father" and with *Gashan-sun* or <sup>d</sup>*Ba-ú* as "Mother" and "Bride", hence her at-

<sup>1</sup> No. 2 : 20; above, p. 20 : 30; Zimmern, *B. G. T.*, p. 10, 21.

<sup>2</sup> A translation "son, Nin-gish-zi-da" is impossible, see above, p. 20, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> See also the writing <sup>d</sup>*Mu(sh)-zi-da*, Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 30, no. 27, col. III : 11, and cf. the Adapa myth where <sup>d</sup>*Gish-zi-da* and <sup>d</sup>*Dumu-zi* stand at the entrance of the gate to the palace of An, see *K. B.*, VI<sup>1</sup>, p. 95, note 10.

<sup>4</sup> Their being "husband and wife" is evident also from the fact that Gudea is the "son" of <sup>d</sup>*Nin-gish-zi-da* (Cyl. B, XXIV : 7) and of <sup>d</sup>*Nin-sun-na*, see below.

<sup>5</sup> *Dingir-ra-ni* <sup>d</sup>*Nin-gish-zi-da* <sup>d</sup>*Ba-ú* *É-Uru-azag-ga-na mu-na-da-tú(r)-tú(r)*.

<sup>6</sup> Notice the trinity: <sup>d</sup>*Nin-gish-zi-da* ("Father"), <sup>d</sup>*Nin-Gir-su* ("Son"), <sup>d</sup>*Ba-ú* ("Mother", "Bride").



tribute "mother of the lord", hence Gudea's statement that *Nin-sun* is the "mother who gives birth to 'true offspring'", which "true offspring" is, of course, the "true son", *Dumu-zi*; hence, lastly, *Ba-ú*'s designations: *sal-shá(g)-ga*<sup>1</sup> or *nu-nunuz shá(g)-ga*<sup>2</sup>, "graceful woman", or *sal-sí-a* *Ba-ú shá(g)-ga*,<sup>3</sup> "beautiful woman, graceful (gracious) *Ba-ú*" — designations which evidently identify *Ba-ú* with the *in-nin* *Innanna mulu shá(g)-ga mulu šig-ga*, "lady Ishtar, the graceful and beautiful one", Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 33, no. 29 : 14/5a.

There still remains, however, another difficulty which ought to be mentioned and explained here. According to Gudea, Statue I, I : 4, *Nin-gish-zi-da* is not the *dumu-zi* of An, but the "son (*dumu*) of *Nin-a-zu*".<sup>4</sup> This "Father" and "Son" are mentioned, either with or without the name of the "Mother", *Ni-gír(i)-da*, between them, in several other passages as, e. g., II R., 59, Rev., 34—36: *Nin(Umun)-a-zu* — *Ni(Gashan)-gír(i)-da*, his wife — *Nin(Umun)-gish(mu(sh))-zi-da*; R. H., p. 86 : 6—7 = 134, col. II : 17—19 = 138 : 103—105 = C. B. M., 112 : 12—13, *Umun-a-zu*, "lord of the extended house"<sup>5</sup> — *Gashan-gír(i)-da* — *Umun-mu(sh)-zi-da*; B. E., XXVII, no. 1, col. IV : 12—34, *Nin-a-zu* (of *IM<sup>ki</sup>*) — *Nin-gish-zi-da* (of *É(Gish?)-banda (i?)<sup>ki</sup>*).<sup>6</sup> But — and this is noteworthy — in the list of the θεοὶ βουλαῖοι,<sup>7</sup> the place of *Nin-a-zu* is occupied by *Nin-ib* (month of Tamuz) who is followed by *Nin-gish-zi-da* (month of Ab). *Nin-a-zu*, the father of *Nin-gish-zi-da*, then, is none other but *Nin-ib*, the Dumuzi of the Nippur trinity and the θεὸς βουλαῖος of the month Tamuz; hence also Dumuzi's name: *ur-sag* *Umun-a-zu*, "hero Umun-a-zu". This *Nin-a-zu*, though originally the same as *Nin-ib*, the son of Enlil, played in *IM<sup>ki</sup>* the rôle of the "Father", like An at Erech or like Enlil at Nippur. This enables us to establish the following trinities in addition to that given above, p. 48, note 6, viz.:

Father	Son	Mother	
An	<sup>d</sup> En-lil	<sup>d</sup> Nin-mah	} cf. Gudea, Cyl. XIX : 18 ff., at Erech.
An	<sup>d</sup> Nin-gish-zi-da	<sup>d</sup> Nin-sun	

<sup>1</sup> *Déc.*, XXXVII, 1, 2 (time of Ur-Ninâ); Ur-Ba-u, Statue, IV, 3, 4; Gudea, Statue H, I : 1, 2; Nammahni, *Türangelstein*, 1, 2; etc., etc. The same attribute is ascribed also to *Ini-Mark<sup>i</sup>*, Ur-Ba-u, Statue, V : 8, and to the goddess of *Girgilu* (= Ishtar), C. T., XV, 23 : 6, 13.

<sup>2</sup> Langdon, *S. B. P.*, p. 174 : 51, *et passim*.

<sup>3</sup> Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 16, no. 11 : 62a. Cf. the variant in R. H., p. 86 : 62, *NU-NUNUZ-sí-a* *A-mà-mà shá(g)-ga*, and in C. T., XXIV, 10 : 1 = 23 : 24, *A-mà-mà shìg(shá(g))-ga*, the "wife(!) of *Nin-ib*", followed by *Sal-sí-a* | ditto. For *Nin-sí-a* (= Sin, the beautiful lord = Dumuzi) see above, p. 31, note 3, and for *NIN<sup>ni</sup>-sa-a* (= Shamash, the beautiful lord) see C. T., XXV, 25 : 11. Cf. also *Nin(Sal) (-an, in)-sí(sí)-(an-)na*, "the beautiful lady of heaven".

<sup>4</sup> For this god see above, p. 15, and notes; p. 27, note 4.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 12, note 5.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. above, p. 20, note 1.

<sup>7</sup> IV R., 33; cf. B. E., Series D, vol. VI, Table II : 4, 5.

<sup>d</sup> En-lil	<sup>d</sup> Nin-ib	<sup>d</sup> Nin-lil	at Nippur.
<sup>d</sup> Nin-ib	son of <sup>d</sup> Nin-ib	<sup>d</sup> Ba-ú	at Dilbat?
<sup>d</sup> Nin-a-zu	<sup>d</sup> Nin-gish-zi-da	<sup>d</sup> Ni-gir(i)-da	at IM <sup>kl</sup> .
<sup>d</sup> Nin-gish-zi-da	<sup>d</sup> Dumu-zi	<sup>d</sup> Nin-sun	at É(Gish?) - ban- da(i?) <sup>kl</sup> .

Col. II : 6. [É]-KAL-AN-NA MU(SH)-TIN-AN-NA MEN. Ishtar, the “mother” and “wife” of Dumuzi, appears here as “the one of the ‘house of the youthful one of An’, the maid(en) of An”. She is also the “sister” (SAL-KU) of Dumuzi, while one of Dumuzi’s standing names is “brother of the mother *Mu(sh)-tin-an-na*”.<sup>1</sup>

The “house of the youthful one of An”, being here parallel with the *ki-kal*, *ki-<sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi*, *A-ra-li*, *ki-á-lá*, is, of course, the “netherworld”, of which Dumuzi was the “lord” and *Mu(sh)-tin-an-na* the “mistress” (<sup>d</sup>*Bêlit ši-ri*<sup>2</sup>) and “scribe”.

For the reading [É]-kal-an-na cf. *R. H.*, p. 85 : 23 = 134, col. I : 13/4 = 136 : 25/6, *É-kal(-tur<sup>3</sup>)-an-na* (<sup>d</sup>*Mu(sh)-tin-an-na* = [...]-na <sup>d</sup>*A-nu* <sup>d</sup>*Bêlit ši-e-ri*, and Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 51, no. 64, col. II : 5, *E(sic)-kal-an-na Mu(sh)-ti(sic!)-an-na*. *Kal*, rather than *gurush*, I read in view of such passages as Thureau-Dangin, *N. F.*, AO 4334, etc., Rev., II : 7, *dam-gal kal-la-mu* *nu-ti-il nu-ti-il*

“My great husband, my youthful one, lives (dwells) no more, lives no more”.  
Cf. also the *ga-la-mu* (= *kal-mu* = Dumuzi), Zimmern, *l. c.*, p. 36, no. 31, col. II : 19, and the *kal-la-ga-mu* (= Nergal), *l. c.*, p. 59, no. 79 : 4.

The meaning of *Mu(sh)-tin* = “maid”, “maiden”, “virgin”, suggested in *H. A. V.*, p. 399, is now corroborated by Zimmern, *l. c.*, p. 29, no. 26, col. V : 13, 14, where Ishtar speaks of herself as follows:

<i>mà-e mu(sh)-tin me-en</i>	<i>mà-e kal<sup>4</sup> me-en<sup>5</sup></i>
<i>me-e ki-el me-en</i>	<i>me-e mu-un-sá<sup>6</sup> me-en</i>
“As for me, the ‘maid(en)’ I am,	as for me, the ‘youthful one’ I am;
“I, the ‘virgin’ I am,	I, the ‘graceful one’ I am”.

The following writings of the name of the “maid(en) of An” may be mentioned:

<sup>d</sup>*Geshtin*, II *R.*, 59, Rev., 10; Gudea, Cyl. B, III : 21;

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 18, *b*, and notes.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, p. 17, note 2*a*; p. 18, *a*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the *úru kal-tur-ra*, p. 19, note 10.

<sup>4</sup> For *kal*, ascribed to a goddess, cf. <sup>d</sup>*Kal* = <sup>d</sup>*Ba-ú*, Dungi, *Votiv-Perücke*, 1. See also Ba-u’s name: <sup>d</sup>*Kal-sil-sir-sir*, “the youthful one (or the *lamassu*) of the ‘street of wailing’”, and her temple *É-sil-sir-sir*, and cf. p. 49.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. l. 5, *mu(sh)-tin mèn me-e na... kal me-en*.

<sup>6</sup> Variant of *mulu sá-da*. For *mu-un* = *mu-lu*, cf. *C. T.*, XV, 12: 20 = *R. H.*, 122 : 2/3, with IV *R.*, 28, no. 4, Rev., 56/7, *mu-un(lu)-shar-ri-dam(e-ne)* = *ush-tah-mi-tu*. *Sá* = *sá-da* = *sa-ga* = *shá(g)* = *damqu*, *banú*.

<sup>a</sup>*Geshtin-an-na*, Ur-Ba-u, Statue, VI : 5, 6;<sup>1</sup> *C. T.*, XV, 19 : 13, 18, 23, 27; *H. A. V.*, no. 2 : 70; II *R.*, 59, Rev., 11;

<sup>a</sup>*Ama-geshtin (-na)*, Urukagina, *Tontafel*, Rev., II : 1, 3;

<sup>a</sup>*Mu(sh)-tin*, II *R.*, 59, Rev., 10;

*Mu(sh)-tin*, Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 29, no. 26, col. V : 13; *R. H.*, p. 47 : 14; p. 48 : 23;

<sup>a</sup>*Mu(sh)-tin-an-na*, no. 9, col. I : 3; *C. T.*, XV, 20 : 21; II *R.*, 59, Rev., 11; *R. H.*, p. 134, col. I : 13/4.

*Mu(sh)-tin-an-na*, *R. H.*, p. 85 : 23; p. 136 : 25/6; no. 1, col. II : 6;

*Mu(sh)-tin-azag*, Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 27, no. 26, col. II : 12;<sup>2</sup>

*Mu(sh)-tin NU-NUNUZ*, *R. H.*, p. 89 : 16, *et passim*;

*Mu(sh)-ti-in sal-sa*, Thureau-Dangin, *N. F.*, AO 4329, Rev., III : 2;

*Mu(sh)-ti-na*, Pinches, *Manch.*, I : 7;

*Mu(sh)-ti-na-na*, Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 36, no. 31, col. I : 10;

*Mu(sh)-ti(!)-an-na*, Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 51, no. 64, col. II : 5, 18;

*Mu(sh)-ti(!)-e*, Zimmern, *l. c.*, col. II : 17;

*Ama-<sup>a</sup>Mu(sh)-tin(-na)*, Scheil, *R. A.*, VIII, p. 164, col. II : 47 = Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 3, no. 2, col. II : 7; *C. T.*, XV, 20 : 23;

*Ama-Mu(sh)-tin-na*, no. 6, col. I : 9; no. 7 : 3; *C. T.*, XV, 18 : 13;

*Ama-<sup>a</sup>Mu(sh)-tin-an-na*, *R. H.*, p. 67 : 20; IV *R.*, 30, no. 2, Obv., 21; Rev., 9; IV *R.* 27, no. 1, *add.* p. 6a : 12;

Col. II : 8, 9. *KI-KAL-A*, *KI-<sup>a</sup>DUMU-ZI-DA*. Both of these expressions occur also in Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 26, no. 26, col. IV : 16/7, where, as here, they stand likewise in parallelism. Cf. also l. 12, *ki-kal* (? *garash* ?)-*a shu-dū-a* = col. III : 15, [*kī*]-*shu-dū-a kal-a-[shū]*; *C. T.*, XV, 14 : 25, *ki-kal li-bi-ir-ri* (Nergal text). For the several pronunciations of *ki-kal* (= *hirim*, *kankal*, *ulutin*), see Br. 9752ff.

When Singashid, king of Erech, records that he built (*mu-ne-en-dū*) for Lugal-banda and Nin-sun the “*É-ki-kal*, ‘the habitation of the joy of their hearts’”,<sup>3</sup> it becomes at once evident that *ki-kal* can not have — at least not here — a meaning “uncultivated ground, ground not covered with buildings” (*kankallu*), or “place of a ruined house” (*nidūtu, teriktu*),<sup>4</sup> nor some such significance as “*Ruine, Trümmerhaufe, Wüstenei, Wüstnis*”.<sup>5</sup> Surely, a king would hardly build (!) “ruins” and call them “habitation of the joy of the heart”. No, the

<sup>1</sup> Here with the attribute *nin-gú-a-si-a*, probably “mistress of (with) beautiful neck”.

<sup>2</sup> Here parallel with <sup>a</sup>*Gu-shir-ra SAL-KU* (sister of) <sup>a</sup>*Da-mu-[ge]* (= Dumuzi) and <sup>a</sup>*Nin-gal-azag*.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 47, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> Poebel, *B. E.*, VI, part 2, p. 12, note 2.

<sup>5</sup> Jensen, *K. B.*, VI<sup>1</sup>, p. 520 (*pitru*); Delitzsch, *H. W. B.*, p. 450, *a* (*nidūtu*).

*ki-kal* is here evidently the "place of the youthful one", *i. e.*, of the "lord"<sup>1</sup> Dumuzi.<sup>2</sup> But Dumuzi is the "lord of the netherworld", hence *ki-kal* = "netherworld" (syn. of *edin*, *A-ra-li*, which latter is here parallel with *ki-dumu-zi*, *ki-kal*). Seeing, however, that the "netherworld" was according to Semitic conception a somewhat dreary place, a place of "ruins",<sup>3</sup> the *ki-kal* acquired in course of time the meaning "ruined, desolated, uncultivated place".

Col. II : 10. *A-RA-LI DU(L)-SÚB-BA*. For *A-ra-li* see, pp. 19; 36, note 2; 39, note 5; 40, note 1, and for *Du(l)-súb-ba*, pp. 39 ff. Notice also the remarkable expression in Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 23, no. 25, col. II : 48, *A-ra-li gú-bar úr-ra*, *i. e.*, either "A., the strange shores (see, pp. 17, note 2, a; 18 a; 24) of the 'veiled one'" (*úr* = *katâmu*, *H. A. V.*, p. 398), *i. e.*, of Ishtar as the *Be-lit ši-ri*; or "A., the hostile, strange shores"; cf. also Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 43, no. 41 : 3, *edin-na gu-ba-[ra...]*.

Col. II : 12. *KI-KAL (?K/GARASH ?)-A SHU-DŪ-A*. For *ki-kal* see above, p. 51. Though the *kal* of the duplicate passage, col. III : 15, [*ki*]-*shu-dū-a kal-a-[shú]*, is absolutely certain, I imagine to see in our line here a *ki-𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶*, *i. e.*, *k/garash*, rather than a *ki-kal*. *Ki-𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶*, or also written *ki-𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶*, stands in the same relation to *ki-kal*,<sup>4</sup> as does *É-kur-𐎶𐎶* to *É-kur*, *i. e.*, it signifies the "hades", "netherworld". Notice the development of the meaning of *k/garash*:

1. It signifies, as the writing clearly indicates, the "place(*ki*) of the youthful one (*kal*) who is dead (𐎶𐎶 = *idim*) or far away (𐎶𐎶 = *bad*)",<sup>5</sup> *i. e.*, the "place of the lord", the "place of Dumuzi", the "Arali", the "place minus strength" — all of which are here in parallelism with *k/garash*.

2. This place, being within or in the innermost and most secret parts of the great fold (*túr*), the earth, and hiding within itself all dead and living things, came to be looked upon as the great "womb",<sup>6</sup> hence *karash* = *karshu*, *karashu*, "*Leibesinnere*", Delitzsch, *H. W. B.*, p. 356, a.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the *ki-ù-mu-un*, above, p. 21 : 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the parallel *ki-dumu-zi* of l. 9.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 25, note 6 (*namú*).


<sup>4</sup> Cf. also *dKAL* = *Alad*, Br. 483 = *dA-la-ad 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶*, above, p. 26, note 3, b.

<sup>5</sup> Notice this twofold distinction in the syllabaries, Br. 9762/3, and cf. our remarks on *ki-bad-du* and *ki-idim*, above, p. 36, note 2, p. 44, note 4.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. here the *Sha(g)-sur-ru* = 1) "womb"; 2) the "earth" as the great "womb"; 3) the "goddess" of this great "womb": Ishtar, the great "Mother", who gives birth to everything, see *C. T.*, XXV, 30b : 12, *dSHA(G) sha-su-rum TÚR* (= "goddess of the midst of the fold") *be-lit ANmêsh dIsh-tar*, "Sh., the mistress of the gods, Ishtar"; *C. T.*, XXIV, 26 : 135, *dNin-túr sha-su-ru*, "mistress of the 'fold'"; Pinches, *E. N.*, (= *P. S. B. A.*, March, 1911), XII : 9, 10, *dSha(g)-sur-ra dBe-lit ANmêsh sha aluUr-ruk*, *i. e.*, *dNin-an-na* of *Erech*, the "mother" and "bride" of Dumuzi; 4) the "netherworld" as a marshy, moory abode, full of misery and without fresh or flowing water. This meaning of *sha(g)-sur-ra* is still evident from Thureau-Dangin, *N. F.*, AO 4331/5, Obv., col. IV : 1 ff.,

3. The netherworld was surrounded by water. That part of the netherworld which adjoined the water was "marshy" and "moory", like its terrestrial prototype at the conflux of the Tigris and the Euphrates; hence, *karash* = *karāshu*, "morass", "mire", "*Matsch*", Jensen, *K. B.*, VI<sup>1</sup>, p. 504.

4. This marshy condition made the landing of the ship, on which the dead were conveyed to the netherworld, difficult, and the progress over it hazardous, causing sometimes utter ruin; hence *karash* = "place of misery".

5. The netherworld was "walled" in by seven walls, like a fortress; hence *karash* = *karāshu*, "fortified camp", Delitzsch, *H. W. B.*, p. 356, *b*. Cf. here , "*dig*", *i. e.*, the "walled in place of the dead", and Ishtar's name: *Nin-tin-dig-ga*, "the mistress who brings back to life, delivers all those who are within this 'walled in place', this fortress or fortified camp (cf. the *φυλακή* or "prison" of I St. Peter, III : 19), who saves and restores to health and new life all those who are at the very 'gates of hell' or 'hades'," *KA karash-a-ta* = *ina pi-i ka-ra-she-e*, IV *R.*, 22, no. 2 : 20, 21; cf. *l. c.*, 54, no. 1 : 41.

6. The netherworld is the "great fold" where the flocks of the shepherd Dumuzi were kept and from which they were led out; hence Dumuzi's name *En-ga-ra GA-RASH*, see above, p. 34, note 15.

7. The netherworld, lastly, is the "place of judgment;" hence *karash* = *ga-rash* = *purussû*, *shiptu*, "*Strafgericht*", Jensen, *K. B.*, VI<sup>1</sup>, p. 504.

Delitzsch's I *karshu*, *karashu*; I u. II *karāshu* (*H. W. B.*, p. 356, *a*, *b*) belong together.

With the *SHU-DŪ-A* of this line and the *KI-SHU-DŪ-A* of col. III : 15, cf. also *R. H.*, p. 68, Rev., 9, 10, *mu-lu shu-dū-a(-na)* = *il-la-ku(-shu)* (here mentioned between the *gāl-lá* demon and the *mu-lu ág(àm)-gi-ra(-na)* = *da-i-ki(-shu)*, "the smiter, killer"). Zimmern, *S. B. T.*, p. 209, translates *illaku* by "*Unterjocher*", "subjugator", remarking, *l. c.*, p. 215, that "*illaku schwerlich zu aláku 'gehen' gehörig, sondern eher zu ilku 'Verpflichtung', 'Steuer'*". He draws the attention also to the *mulu shu-da<sup>1</sup>-a*, who in *C. T.*, XV, 20 : 28, is mentioned

where Ishtar, the *mu-gi-ib Nin-an-na* (col. I : 2), sings of her husband *MAR-TU*, the Dumuzi of the "West-land", as follows:

<i>enem-zu en-gu-ra i-is-síg(la)</i>	<i>NU-DU-TU</i>
<i>za-na-am (= za-e + enem)-zu a-ba ú-um-síg(la)</i>	<i>ab-bi hu-lu-ḫe</i>
<i>za-na-am-zu zu-ga ú-um-síg(la)</i>	<i>zu-ge she-an-shā (= var. of DU = shā)</i>
<i>a-me-ba-ra na-[.] ú-um-síg(la)</i>	<i>shā-sur-ra [.....], i. e.,</i>
"Thy word, when it goes over the ocean,	....
"Thou, thy word, when it goes over the sea,	the sea is frightened;
"Thou, thy word, when it goes over the marsh,	the marsh trembles (wails);
"When it goes over the reedy marsh,	when it goes over the moory marsh,
(rest broken away)	

*Shā-sur-ra* is here evidently in parallelism with *a-me-ba-ra* = *ambar* = *apparu* (M. 7844) and with *zu-ga(ge)* = *sú(g)* = *ḡuḡu* (M. 7853), a synonym of *k/garash* and of *sú(g)* = *ḡéru*, "netherworld", M. 7852.

<sup>1</sup> For such an interchange of *dū* and *da* cf. now V *R.*, 46 : 39 *a*, *b*, *mul Sag-me-gar na-ash ḡa-ad-du ana DA-DA-mu*, with Dhorme, *R. A.*, VIII, p. 45 (cf. p. 56), col. III : 5, *mul babbar (= TE-UG) na-ash ḡa-ad-du ana DŪ-DŪ*.

between the *ka-ab-gaz-e* and the *mulu á-lá-a*. In view of the fact that *ki-á-lá-a* is a name for "netherworld", of which Dumuzi is the *mulu* or "lord", and that the *mulu ka-ásh-ka-sa* (= *ka-ab-gaz-e*, *H. A. V.*, p. 441, note 5) is likewise a name for Dumuzi,<sup>1</sup> I prefer to see in the *mulu shu-dū(da)-a* a designation of Dumuzi (with whom, in fact, this term is in parallelism) and in the *ki-shu-dū-a* the "place where Dumuzi as the *shu-dū-a* keeps himself". This being so, *C. T.*, XV, 20 : 28, 29, might be read and translated as follows:

*mulu shu-da-a e-ne-ra*

*mu-un-da-gir(úl)-e*

*mulu á-lá-a e-ne-ra*

*mu-un-da-gir(úl)-e, i. e.,*

"To 'the smitten one', to him

with him(= the *gallû*) she (= Ishtar) goes;

"To 'the one without strength', to him with him she goes".

If *illaku* and *ilku* really do belong together, the *shu-da-a* may possibly mean "governor, ruler, commander", sc. of the netherworld. Other interpretations are, of course, possible, but all must remain, for the present at least, extremely doubtful.<sup>2</sup>

Col. II : 13. *KI-Á-LÁ-A*, occurs also in col. III : 15, and in IV *R.*, 30, no. 2 : 1—4, which Zimmern, *S. B. T.*, p. 204, reads and translates:

[*ki*(?) *á-lá-a*

*ganam síl-bi*]

[*a*(?)*-sha*]r *ik-k[a-mu-ú*

*lah-ra u pu-had-sa]*

[*ki*(?)*á-lá-a*

*ú[z másh-bi]*

[*a*(?)*-shar ik-ka-su-ú*

*en-za u [la-la-sha], i. e.,*

"[*wo*] festge[halten ist

*das Mutterschaf und sein Lamm],*

"[*w*]o gebunden ist

*die Ziege und [ihr Zicklein]"*.

Without the preceding *ki*, *á-lá* is found in IV *R.*, 30, no. 2 : 36ff. = *R. H.*, p. 67, Obv., 1 ff., where we read as follows:

36 (1) *a lum-ma á(al)-lá(-al)-e(è)-a*

*a lum-ma á(al)-lá(-al)-e(è)-e*

37 (2) *a-hu-lap un-nu-bi sha ik-ka-mu-u*

38 *a-hu-lap ush-shù(shu)-bi sha ik-ka-su-u*

(3) *(a-hu-lap un-nu-bi sha im-ma-hu-u*


*a-hu-lap ush-shu-bi sha im-ma-hu-u)*

39 (4) *hur-mu al-è-ne*

*súb-ba gíl-li-em-mà al-dur*

(5) ([*banî* (Z. *uṣurtu*?) *sha*] *im-ma-hu-ú: ik-ka-mu-ú: ri-é-um ana hul-lu-ki a-shib*)

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 17, note 2, b.

<sup>2</sup> For the benefit of those who are intent upon solving the correct significance of *shu-dū(da)-a*, I may mention that *dū* may change with *de* (*gù-de* = *gù-dū*, Br. 667 = 672); with *du* (*dNin-uru-mu-un-dū*, *C. T.*, XXIV, 5 : 10 = *dNin-uru-mu-un-du*, *C. T.*, XXIV, 22 : 110); with *dū* (*GAB-KID-dū-a*, *C. T.*, XV, 30 : 14 = *GAB-KID-dū-a*, l. c., 27 : 11); with *dú(g)* (*en-nu-ùg(-gà)*...*dū*, *C. T.*, XV, 27 : 22ff. = *en-nu-ùg(-gà)*...*dú(g)*, l. c., 30 : 24ff.); with *tag*, *tū* (= ) *du*, *dū* (*gish-dū-a*, Br. 5714 = *gish-tag-a*, Br. 5711 = *tū*, M. 4274, *mahāsu sha iṣi* = *gish-du-du*, Gudea, Cyl. A, 7 : 15 = *gish-shu-dū*, Cyl. A, 12 : 24 = *tag* = *mahāsu sha mimma*). According to this *shu-dū(da)-a* may mean "eradicator, slaughterer, governor, regent, the smitten one, the adorned one, the beautiful one"; but which of these meanings is the one intended here? In conclusion cf. the *shu-dū-a* (a measure!) mentioned by Thureau-Dangin, *J. A.*, Jan.-Feb., 1909, p. 97, no. 2; *St. of Vult.*, p. 45, note 2.

- (6) (*hul-lu-ki-ish a-shib*)  
 40 (7) *uru-me-a* *hur-mu (gu)<sup>1</sup> al-è-ne*  
 (8) (*pa-ra-aš mâtî*) *sha im-ma-hu-ú<sup>2</sup>*

Leaving the various grammatical impossibilities<sup>3</sup> of the Semitic translation out of consideration, the following ought to be noticed in connection with this passage:

1. The very fact that the Semitic translator gives for ll. 1 and 4 several renderings, shows that he himself had some difficulty in understanding this passage.

2. The *hur* of l. 4 is parallel with *sûb*. This *sûb*, either "shepherd" or "beautiful one",<sup>4</sup> is, of course, Dumuzi; hence, the *hur* must be Dumuzi likewise. We know<sup>5</sup> that Dumuzi had the name <sup>d</sup>*Lugal-igi-hur<sup>bu</sup>-ra* "the king with beautiful eyes (face)", thus showing that *hur* = *banû* (M. 6404), "beautiful"<sup>6</sup>.

3. *Hur* and *sûb* are parallel also with the *lum* of l. 1. Above<sup>7</sup> we have seen that Dumuzi was called the *i-bi-lum-lum*, probably = *la bâbil pâni*, "freundlich, gut",<sup>8</sup> because *lum* = *babâlu*, "hervorbringen, erzeugen"<sup>9</sup>, is a synonym of *ushshubu* (root *eshêbu*<sup>10</sup>), "hervorkeimen, Frucht tragen"<sup>11</sup> and *unnubu*, "üppig keimen, Frucht tragen".<sup>12</sup> To *unnubu* belongs also *enbu* which, when applied to a woman, has the meaning "Üppigkeit, Fruchtbarkeit", and when applied to a man that of "strotzende Kraft, Zeugungskraft". Dumuzi as the *lum* might, therefore, be very well the "manly one, the one possessed with virility, der Zeugungsfähige",<sup>13</sup> the charming one, the beautiful one".

<sup>1</sup> This *gu* stands in *R. H.* lower than the preceding *mu*. It is probably intended to explain the *hur*, which the annotator wishes to take in the sense of *gu-hur* = *hâru sha nam-me*, see Delitzsch, *H. W. B.*, p. 275, a.

<sup>2</sup> Translated by Zimmern, *A. O.*, XIII, p. 11:

"Wie lange noch mit dem Sprießen, das festgehalten ist,  
 wie lange noch mit dem Grünen, das gebunden ist;  
 mit dem Schicksal (?), das niedergehalten ist, so daß der Hirt in Vernichtung dasitzt,  
 mit der Satzung des Landes, die niedergehalten ist?"

Langdon, *S. B. P.*, p. 307, renders:

"How long shall the springing of verdure be restrained?

"How long shall the putting forth of leaves be held back?

"My city is oppressed: the shepherd sits in desolation.

"In my city the laws of the land are suppressed".

<sup>3</sup> As, e. g., that the *a* in *uru-me-a* is not accounted for; that the *hur-mu* in l. 7 is altogether ignored; that the *mu* of l. 4 has no Semitic equivalent, etc. etc.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 40.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. p. 41, note 1; p. 44, note 3.

<sup>6</sup> This parallelism of *hur* and *sûb* would speak, it seems to me, decidedly in favor of our interpretation offered above, p. 41.

<sup>7</sup> Page 27, note 9.

<sup>8</sup> Jensen, *K. B.*, VI<sup>1</sup>, p. 62: 13; p. 378; *B. A.*, III, p. 541.

<sup>9</sup> Jensen, *K. B.*, VI<sup>1</sup>, p. 320.

<sup>10</sup> Is the *lum* = *shîbu* (M. 8570) to be derived from *eshêbu*, per analogy of *lidu* from *alâdu*? If so, *lum* = *shîbu* would be "der Zeugungsfähige" rather than the "sheik", see above, p. 27, note 9.

<sup>11</sup> Delitzsch, *H. W. B.*, p. 141, b.

<sup>12</sup> Delitzsch, *l. c.*, p. 97, a.

<sup>13</sup> I. e., the one who is able to bring about, who is the natural cause of, the *ushshubu* and *unnubu*.

4. *Á-lá* = *al-lá-al* = *al* (= *lá*, Br. 10194/5), being translated here by the three variants *immaḥû*, *ikkamû*, *ikkasû*, must be merely different writings of one and the same word: *á-lá*, which means literally “minus strength”, while the *ki-á-lá-a* is the “place of him who is minus strength”, i. e., of Dumuzi, the god of the powers of nature, who is “impotent” during the winter, the time of barrenness. Dumuzi consequently is quite rightly called *mulu á-lá-a*.<sup>1</sup>

The *è*<sup>2</sup> = *e* of l. 1 expresses the “present tense”. For such an interchange of *è* and *e*, see above, p. 13, note 2.




Disregarding the Semitic translation, I would prefer to render the above given passage as follows:

“How long still that ‘the manly one’ be without strength, “That my ‘beautiful one’ be without strength, “That within my city <sup>3</sup>	how long still that ‘the manly one’ be without strength, that the shepherd (‘beautiful one’) sit like one undone, my ‘beautiful one’ be without strength”.
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This gives us the desired antitheses: manly — yet without strength; beautiful — yet without attraction: despised, undone, annihilated, in misery is Dumuzi while in the *ki-á-lá-a*.<sup>4</sup>

Col. II : 14, 16. *KI-SHU-E* *SÍL BA-AN-ŠI-EM-MÀ-SHÚ*  
*ESHEMEN (KI-E-NE)* *MÁSH BA-AN-ŠI-EM-MÀ-SHÚ*. Similarly  
in col. III : 17, 18:

<i>ki-shu-e</i>	<i>síl ba-an-ši-em-mà-shú</i>
<i>eshemen (KI-E-NE-DI)</i>	<i>úš shà(?) másh ba-an-ši-em-mà-shú</i> .

Br. 9780 mentions a *ki-shu-e-za-<sup>d</sup>Innanna* = *kippû*, in which the *za-<sup>d</sup>Innanna* may be explained as meaning “the ‘bright’, ‘shining’ (*za* = *za-gin*<sup>5</sup> = *ibbu*, *ellu*) *ki-shu-e* of Ishtar”, or the  may be merely a variant of  or of its *gunû* form , i. e., the “beautiful *ki-shu-e*”. *Kippû* according to K. 40, col. II : 47 — 49<sup>6</sup> translates, besides the *ki-shu-e-za-<sup>d</sup>Innanna*, also the Sumerian *KI-E-NE-DI-<sup>d</sup>Innanna*, “the beautiful (*DI* = *sá*) place (*ki*) of the lady (*E-NE*<sup>7</sup> = *e-gi*) Ishtar”, and the *shú*(= *KU*)-*hul*,<sup>8</sup> “tent (*shú* =

<sup>1</sup> See p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> M. 5879 considers *è* = *maḥû*; but the *immaḥû* of l. 3 is against this.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Gudea, Cyl. A, I : 3.

<sup>4</sup> In *H. A. V.*, no. 8 : 20/1, *lum* and *á-lá* stand likewise in antithesis. *Á-lá*, when used in connection with “musical instruments”, has the meaning “silent” “mute” (against Thureau-Dangin, *Z. A.*, XVII, p. 199, note 4; Witzel, *O. L. Z.*, 1913, Sp. 4, note 2). Cf. also the *kur-al*, above, p. 45, note 1.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. also the *za* of *C. T.*, XV, 25 : 10, which in the duplicate passage, K. 41, col. II : 17/8, is written *za-gin* = *uk-ni-i*.

<sup>6</sup> See Delitzsch, *H. W. B.*, p. 347, b.

<sup>7</sup> Or is *E-NE* the plural of *E* = *A* = *riḥātu* (see p. 57) ?

<sup>8</sup> Cf. also the *shú-hul e-she-min-sar(sir)-ra* = *melu[lu] sha kippé*, “the loud shouting, the singing which goes on in the *kippû*”, Br. 10658.



zarātu) of joy". In Br. 9751 the *KI-E-NE-DI*-<sup>d</sup>*Innanna* has the gloss *e-she-me-in*<sup>1</sup> and is translated by *melultu sha* <sup>d</sup>*U-GÚN* (Ishtar). But *e-she-me-in* is the gloss also of *KI-E-NE-DI* (= *kippû*, Br. 9746), which in col. III : 18, appears as a variant of *KI-E-NE* and is parallel with *ki-shu-e*. From this it follows that *KI-E-NE-DI* = *KI-E-NE*. The *DI* may be explained either according to p. 41, note 3, or it may be = *sá*, a variant of *sa-ga*, *sá-da* = *shá(g)* = *damqu*, *banû*, "beautiful", see p. 46, note 6.

Jensen, K. B., VI<sup>1</sup>, p. 395, translates *kippû* by "*Freudenkammer, Freudenort der Ishtar*", and its synonym *melultu*, which he derives quite correctly from *elêlu*, "to shout, to cry (either in joy or grief)", by "*Freudenort, Stätte geschlechtlicher Freude*". The literal translation of *ki-shu-e* is "place of the 'tent, abode (*shu* = phonetic writing for *shú*) of *e*'". This *e* is again a phonetic writing for *a*;<sup>2</sup> cf. the *Ê-shú-a*,<sup>3</sup> "the house of the 'tent of *a*'", the well-known adyton of Marduk; the *a...a-ri-a* in the expression *a An-na a-ri-a-mêsh* = *sha riĥût* <sup>d</sup>*Anim riĥû* (Br. 11458) which changes with *a...e-ri-a* in Gudea, Cyl. A, III : 16, (Nin-Girsu) *en-zi(d) a kur-gal e-ri-a*, "true lord, begotten by the 'great mountain'", and especially the <sup>d</sup>*Nin-zú-amash-a*, C. T., XXIV, 11 : 38 = <sup>d</sup>*Nin-amash-e*,<sup>4</sup> "the (true) mistress of the 'fold of *e*'", l. c., 24 : 55.

Now, as *a* = *e* has the meaning *riĥû sha riĥûtu* or *riĥûtu*,<sup>5</sup> it becomes at once evident that the *ki-shu-e* is the "place of begetting", the "bridal-chamber", the most holy and sacred compartment in a given temple, the adyton *par excellence*, where Ishtar and Dumuzi pass their wedding night at Easter.<sup>6</sup>

According to our text, this place is prepared by the "lamb", the "goat" and the "kid" — three euphemistic expressions by which Ishtar designates herself (and her maidens) as the "virgin" (*sil*,<sup>7</sup> "lamb"; *músh*,<sup>8</sup> "kid") and "mother" (*ú*,<sup>9</sup> "goat"; opp. "kid"). The *ki-shu-e* and the *KI-E-NE(-DI)*, therefore, are correctly designated by Jensen as the "*Stätten geschlechtlicher Freude der Ishtar*".

Col. II : 17. *MU-LU BAD-DU*. Cf. the name of Dumuzi: <sup>d</sup>*Lugal-ki-bad-du*, above, p. 36,

<sup>1</sup> This *eshemen* I consider to be the prototype of the Phoenician 𐤍𐤏𐤍, see B. E., Series D, vol. VI.

<sup>2</sup> For this interchange of *e* and *a* see also H. A. V., p. 440, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> See also C. T., XV, 19 : 26, where, however, the copy gives *Ê-𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤍-a*; cf. the *Ê-shú-nin-azag* | *Ê-60 sha Gir-su*<sup>ki</sup>, II R., 61 : 34, g, h (cf. ll. 16, 18, b).

<sup>4</sup> See also above, p. 29, note 9.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. also the *a-rù* = *banû riĥûtu*, V R., 46 : 46, a, b, with the <sup>mal</sup>*A-rù ba-nit* (= *I*) *ri-ĥu-tam*, Dhorme, R. A., VIII, p. 47, col. III : 31, and the various writings of the goddess <sup>d</sup>*A-ru-ru*: <sup>d</sup>*A-ru-u-a*, <sup>d</sup>*E-ru-ú-a*, <sup>d</sup>*A-rù*, <sup>d</sup>*A-rû*, <sup>d</sup>*Ê-rum* (see p. 17, note 6). Notice also the <sup>d</sup>*Ur-a-rù* = *Úr* (! copy gives *Ê*)-*a-rù*, i. e., the "goddess of the *urù*" (Jensen, K. B., VI<sup>1</sup>, p. 499, and Delitzsch, H. W. B., p. 130, *a* = *Stall, Pferch*) *sha banû riĥûtu*.

<sup>6</sup> See H. A. V., p. 391, no. 2.

<sup>7</sup> For Ishtar as the <sup>d</sup>*Sil* see above, p. 29, note 4, c.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. here the <sup>d</sup>*Mash* (a well-known variant of *másh*) = <sup>d</sup>*Ba-ú*, the wife of Ninib, H. A. V., p. 424.

<sup>9</sup> See also above, p. 30, note 1, and notice that both, Ishtar and Dumuzi, are the *ganam*, *ga-a-a-ú*, *sherba*, "sheep, ewe, lamb, ram (*aries*)", see pp. 32 ff.

note 2; p. 44, note 4, and see also p. 52, note 5. The *mu-lu bad-du* is, of course, Dumuzi; while the *ki-tush*, being parallel with the *eshemen*, "bridal-chamber", and the *ki-mushen*, "place of the 'birds'", is the "harem" inhabited by him and Ishtar. Of this harem Dumuzi is the "god" (*dìm-me-ir*). The parallel expression of col. III : 19, is in all probability to be emended to:

[*mu-lu bad-du*]

*ki-nu-mu-ni-tb-gi-ra-shú*

"On account of the far removed one, who to his place has not returned". The *ra* of the verbal suffix *ra-shú* can be explained only by supposing that *gi-ra* is here a phonetic writing for *gír*, *gir*, *gi-ri*, etc., "to go, to return to".

Col. II : 18. *KI-MUSHEN*(*HU*). The *HU* = *mushen* is exactly as reproduced; this excludes, it seems, a reading *ki-ri* (= *ki-ri-a*, *H. A. V.*, p. 398) or *ki-nina* (cf. the *É-nina* above, p. 33, note 4; p. 36, note 2). For *mushen*, "birds", as a designation of the "maidens" (*ardatu*) of Ishtar, see *H. A. V.*, p. 399. The *ki-mushen*, "place of the maidens", is, however, a synonym of *É-a-ri* = *bît ar-da-tum*, *R. H.*, p. 83 : 29, 30; cf. *H. A. V.*, p. 398.

Somewhat difficult is the expression *e-ba-ni-in-dú(g)-ga*, here and in col. III : 20. The *e* may be = *lú*, "behold". But what would be the meaning of *dú(g)*? "To cry out"? This would leave the infixes unexplained. On account of these difficulties, I consider *e...dú(g)* to be a variant of *a...dú(g)* = *shanû sha nakri*; cf. here such passages as *C. T.*, XV, 13 : 21/2 = IV *R.*, 28, no. 4, Rev., 32/3, where we read:

*úru a-dú(g)-ga*

*a gí-a-zu*

[*ana? alí*] *sha nak-rum ú-sha-nu-u*

*a-ḫu-lap tu-ur-shu*

(*Nibru<sup>ti</sup>*) *a-dú(g)-ga*

*a-ta mar-ra-zu*

*sha nak-ru*

*ana me-e sa-lu-u, i. e.,*

"The 'city', which the foe has  
turned upside down,

when at last wilt thou have mercy  
upon it?

"(*Nippur*), which the foe has  
turned upside down,

when at last wilt thou have compassion  
upon it?"<sup>1</sup>

Cf. also IV *R.*, 28, no. 4, Rev., 37—42. We may, however, connect *mu* + *dú(g)* and read *mu(sh)-e-ba-ni-in-dú(g)-ga*. For *mu(sh)-dú(g)* = *gish(ush)-dú(g)*, see D. T. 67 (= *A.S.K.T.*, p. 119), Obv., 18/9 (Delitzsch, *H. W. B.*, p. 312, b), where it is said of Ishtar:

*mu(sh)-ba-ab-dú(g)-ga*

*in-ga-an-zu*

*i-sha-ri ri-ḫa-a*

*il-ta-mad*

*mu(sh)-su-ub-dú(g)-ga*

*in-ga-an-zu*

*na-sha-qam*

*il-ta-mad, i. e.,*

<sup>1</sup> The Semitic translation gives: "which the foe has cast into the water".

"The embrace of a husband she learned (experienced),  
 "To kiss she learned".

Here belongs also Pinches, *E. N.* (= *P. S. B. A.*, March, 1911), p. 88 : 40,  
*mulu mu(sh)-na-e-dú(g)* *mulu im-su-ub[-su-ub]-ba*  
*man-ma-an a-a ir-ḫi-e-shi* *man-ma-an a-a ish-shi-iq-shi*

and no. 8, col. IV : 1, *ní(g)-mu(sh)-e-dú(g)-ga-zu im-ḫu-luḫ-e*. If this latter explanation be preferred, we may translate:

"On account of my extended . . . , where there is experienced the embrace  
 the place of maidens, of the husband".

Col. II : 20, 21. *SHU* or *ME-RI GISH-SHUB-BA*. With *gish-shub*, which apparently is here an adjective applicable to both "hand" and "foot", cf. Gudea, Cyl. A, XXIV : 17, *é mu-dū gish-e-im-ma-shub*, "er erbaute den Tempel, er . . . ihn" (Th.-D.); *R. T. C.*, no. 191, *mu id gish-shub-ba ba-ba-al-la*, "Jahr, wo gegraben wurde der Kanal g." (Th.-D., *S. A. K. I.*, p. 227, no. 12, a); *gish-ù-shub* = *nalbantu*, "form" (sc. to make bricks), changes with *ù-shub* and *gish-shub*, cf. *síg gish-shub-ba . . . gar*, "to put the brick into the 'form'", Gudea, Statue E, III : 9; *pisàn gish-shub-ba*, "the form-box", *l. c.*, III : 1 (= *pisàn gish-ù-shub-ba*, Statue F, II : 12). Cf. also *gish-shub* = *pitpanu*, "bow", and especially Thureau-Dangin, *N. F.*, AO 4330, face II : 7, 8, *gish-shub mulu gish-shub*. From these passages it seems to be evident that *gish-shub* means "to throw (into) wood, to encase". The "bow" is the "wood (*i. e.*, the 'arrow') thrower"; the "form" is the "wood" into which the clay is "thrown" to form it into a brick, which "wood" was in the shape of a "box" (*pisàn*). The *id gish-shub-ba* is a canal with a wooden casing at its borders to keep the earth or ground from falling into the canal bed. The *shu* or *me-ri gish-shub-ba*, therefore, designates the "hands" or "feet which are thrown into a wood (yoke),<sup>1</sup> which are encased, fettered".

If this explanation be correct, Dumuzi, while in the netherworld, must have been considered to be one whose hands and feet, though "radiant with splendor" (*ní-shu-pa*),<sup>2</sup> were yet *gish-shub-ba*, "fettered" — an observation which explains why the Semitic translator should have rendered the *ki-á-lá-a* by *ashar ikkamû* or *ashar ikkasû*, "the place where is bound, fettered" everyone and everything that inhabits it.

It is, no doubt, the cry of the "fettered" Dumuzi of which we read in Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 30, no. 27, col. III : 8,

*shu-mu gi-ga gír-mu gi-ga* *ama-mu nu-ri-zu*

"My sore hands, my sore feet — my mother, wilt thou not help them?"

From no. 4, where *Utu* plays the rôle of Dumuzi, it appears that this state of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. here the *shu-pa-pa* (= *shup-pa*?) = *rakisu*, "yoke?" Br. 7180; Delitzsch, *H. W. B.*, p. 622, a.

<sup>2</sup> Zimmern, *S. K.*, p. 41, no. 37 : 25a. Notice here the play of words between *ní-shu-pa* and *gish-shub-ba*!

"true Son" as a *mulu gish-shub-ba* or "fettered one" is the result of an evil "spell"<sup>1</sup> (*gu*) which has been "woven around" or cast over Dumuzi. Ishtar (<sup>d</sup>*Innanna*), by her *bal-bal*,<sup>2</sup> brings this "spell" to an end.

The action of "*gi*", being attributed to "hand" and "foot", must be something which both members can do. The best translation of *gi* seems to be "to raise, to lift up, to elevate". In this sense we find *shu...gi-gi* in Rim-Sin, *Kanephore B*, II : 11, "a kingship which gladdens the heart, a reign of graciousness, may <sup>d</sup>*KAL(Lama) shu-a-gi-gi*<sup>3</sup> the protecting deity by intercession (lit. by lifting up of hands) before (*ki-ta*) An and Ishtar for them (*i. e.*, Kudur-Mabuk and Rim-Sin) implore". A variant of *shu-gi* is *shu-gi*,<sup>4</sup> see no. 3 : 6, 40.

*É-babbar* <sup>d</sup>*Utu-ra*

*an-shú shu-ni ba-ni-in-gi*

"In the temple *É-babbar* of Shamash

towards heaven her hands she (<sup>d</sup>*Be-li-li*)  
raised" (sc. saying: here enumerating  
her attributes).

On the basis of the above-given explanations, I venture to suggest the following translation of

No. 1, col. II : 3—22:

3. *gi-er-ra sha(b)-mu gi-er-ra edin-na*

*na-mu-un-ma-al*

"In wailing'. For my 'beloved'

for him I broke (break) out:

in wailing towards (in) the 'desert',

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the expressions, occurring in no. 4:

*Gu-sar* = *ṭamū sha qū*, "to weave an evil spell around someone". Cf. IV R., 3 : 4/5, and notice that *gu-sar* is a syn. of *gu-sur*: cf. <sup>d</sup>*Gu-sur* = Marduk as the Dumuzi around whom cords have been woven?

*Gu-ri*, "to cast (*ramū*) into cords", "to afflict with an evil spell".

*Gu-shír-shír* (*NŠ-NU*) = *ṭamū sha qū*; cf. IV R., 5 : 33/5, c, and *gu-sar*, above. See also <sup>d</sup>*Gu-shír-ra*, above, p. 51, note 2.

*Gu-tab-ba* = *esēpu sha qū*, "to weave double cords", "to double the cords".

*Gu-ši-ši* = *zurruḫu sha qū*, "to weave an ensnaring, crushing, oppressing, tight cord". Notice also that *zurruḫu* = *sar*, *tab*, see above.

*Gu-tag-tag* = *shulluṭu sha qū*, "to sever the cord". Cf. IV R., 17 : 17, b, where Shamash (!) is called the *mu-shal-li-tum qī-e lum-ni*, "who severs the cords woven by the wicked".

*Gu-ÍL-ÍL(-na)*, "to remove (*nashū*) the cords".

<sup>2</sup> For *bal-bal* = *shipṭu*, "exorcism, charm" cf. no. 12 : 21, 22,

21 *garza-bi àm-ba-da-an-kúr*

*bal-bi ba-kúr-kúr*

22 *É-zi-da bal-bi bal-kúr-ra*

*shu-bal-AG-a-bi*, with the duplicate passage in R. H.,

p. 60, Rev., 16ff. (= Schollmeyer, *M. V. A. G.*, XIII (1908), p. 6):

16 [*garza-bi*] *àm-ba(!)-da-kúr(!)*

*bal-[bi b]a-da-kúr-ri*

17 [*pil-lu*]-*du-shù ú-par-ri-[ik]*

*ship-ṭu(!)-shù ú-te-ki-ir*

18 *É-zi-dé bal-bi ba(!)-da-kúr-ri*

*shu-bal-ba-ab-shi-in-AG*

19 *sha bíṭ ki-ni ship-[ṭu! ú]-shap-[ri-ik]*

*nak-ri ush-te-pi-li*

"Its (the temple's) ordinances he (the enemy) has suppressed,

its formulas of exorcism he has changed;

"The exorcisms of the true temple he has changed, like evil (hostile) ones he has suppressed".

<sup>3</sup> To be distinguished from *shu-na...gi-gi*, "to return something to".

<sup>4</sup> Cf. also the *mulShu-gi* <sup>d</sup>*En-lil sha Nibruki*, Pinches, *E. N.*, XI : 1, 2, which consequently may be the star of the "old one" or of the "intercession (intercessor)".

4. *kur-[g]ul-gul* *Ga-sha-an-É-an-na mèn*  
“(I), the ‘destroyer of the “mountain”’, the ‘mistress of *É-an-na*’, I;
5. *am[a] ù-mu-un-na* *Ga-sha-an-sun-na mèn*  
“(I), the ‘mother of the “lord”’, the ‘beautiful lady’, I;
6. *[É]-kal-an-na* *Mu(sh)-tin-an-na mèn*  
“(I), of the ‘house of the “youthful one” the ‘maiden of An’, I.  
of An”;
7. *sha(b)-mu gi-er-ra edin-na* *na-mu-ma-al*  
“‘For my ‘beloved’ in wailing for him I broke (break) out:  
towards (in) the ‘desert’,”
8. *[k]i-[k]al-a-ka* *na-mu-ma-al*  
“‘For the ‘place of the youthful one’ (in wailing) I break out,
9. *[ki-<sup>d</sup>Du]mu-zi-da-ka* *na-mu-ma-a[l]*  
“‘For the ‘place of Dumuzi’ (in wailing) I break out,
10. *A-ra-li* *du(l)-súb-ba-ka*  
“‘For the ‘Arali’, the ‘shepherd(?)’-hill (*sc.* in wailing I  
break out).
11. *sha(b)-mu gi-er-ra edin-na* *na-mu-ma-a[l]*  
“‘For my ‘beloved’ in wailing for him I broke (break) out:  
towards (in) the ‘desert’,”
12. *ki-karash(? kal?)-a* *shu-dù-a-shú*  
“‘For the ‘place of the “beautiful one far away”’, for the ‘smitten one’ (*sc.* in wailing  
I break out),
13. *ki-á-lá-a* *<sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi-da-shú*  
“‘For the ‘place of him who is for Dumuzi (*sc.* in wailing, etc.),  
without strength’,”
14. *ki-shu-e* *síl ba-an-ši-em-mà-sh[ú]*  
“‘For the ‘bridal-chamber’ which the ‘lamb’ has prepared (*sc.* in  
wailing, etc.).
15. *sha(b)-mu gi-er-ra edin-na* *(sc. na-mu-ma-al)*  
“‘For my ‘beloved’ in wailing (*sc.* for him I broke (break) out):  
towards (in) the ‘desert’,”
16. *eshemen (KI-E-NE)* *másh ba-an-ši-em-mà-shú*  
“‘For the ‘place of joys’ which the ‘kid’ has prepared (*sc.* in wai-  
ling I break out),

- |                                       |   |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| 17. <i>ki-tush òim-me-ir-bi</i>       | <i>mu-lu bad-du-[shú]</i>                             |
| “For the ‘habitation whose god        | is “the one far away” ( <i>sc.</i> in wailing, etc.), |
| 18. <i>[.]e-damal-mu ki-mushen-mu</i> | <i>e-ba-ni-in-dú(g)-ga-shú</i>                        |
| “For my extended..., the ‘place of    | which the enemy has set upside down                   |
| my maidens’,                          | ( <i>sc.</i> in wailing, etc.).                       |
| 19. <i>sha(b)-mu gi-er-ra edin-na</i> | <i>na-mu (sc.-ma-al)</i>                              |
| “For my ‘beloved’ in wailing          | for him ( <i>sc.</i> I broke (break) out):            |
| towards (in) the ‘desert’,            |   |
| 20. <i>shu gish-shub-ba-ni</i>        | <i>na-mu-un-gi</i>                                    |
| “For him who his fettered hands       | can not raise ( <i>sc.</i> in wailing, etc.),         |
| 21. <i>me-ri gish-shub-ba-ni</i>      | <i>na-mu-un-gi</i>                                    |
| “For him who his fettered feet        | can not lift up ( <i>sc.</i> in wailing, etc.),       |
| 22. <i>edin-e ba(?) -te(?)...</i>     | .....   |
| “For him whom the ‘desert’ has .....  |   |
|                                       | [Rest broken away.]                                   |

### III.

## DESCRIPTION OF TABLETS.


### ABBREVIATIONS.

**C. B. M.**, *Catalogue of the Babylonian Museum*, University of Pennsylvania, prepared by Professor H. V. Hilprecht; **cf.**, confer; **col(s)**., column(s); **Exp.**, Expedition; **f.**, following page; **ff.**, following pages; **fragm(s)**., fragment(s); **H. A. V.**, *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*; **inscr.**, inscription; **l.**, line; **ll.**, lines; **L. E.**, Left Edge; **Lo. E.**, Lower Edge; **Manch.**, Pinches, *The Hymns to Tammáz in the Manchester Museum*, Owens College; **no(s)**., number(s); **O.**, obverse; **p.**, page; **Pl(s)**., Plate(s); **pp.**, pages; **R.**, reverse; **R. E.**, Right Edge; **R. H.**, Reisner, *Sumerisch-Babylonische Hymnen*; **S. K.**, Zimmern, *Sumerische Kultlieder aus altbabylonischer Zeit*; **U. E.**, Upper Edge; **vol(s)**., volume(s).

Measurements are given in centimeters, *width*  $\times$  *length* (*height*)  $\times$  *thickness*. Whenever the tablet (or fragment) varies in size, the largest measurement is given.

### A. AUTOGRAPH REPRODUCTIONS.

TEXT.	PLATE.	C. B. M.	DESCRIPTION.
1	1,2	11393	Middle part of larger, half baked clay tablet. O. darker, with occasional black spots, R. lighter. Cracked and glued together. With the exception of those ll. which include the colophons, or which indicate the beginning of a new hymn, this tablet is not ruled. End of col. IV not inscribed. 2 cols. on O. and 2 on R. $12^2 \times 12 \times 3$ . Inscription, 22 (col. I) + 23 (col. II) + 22 (col. III) + 3 (col. IV) = 70 ll. "Tablet Hill", I Exp. For translation of col. II: 3—22, see above, pp. 60 ff.
2	3,4	3656	Lower part of baked tablet. O. light, R. darker, both with occasional black spots. Cracked, glued together. Ruled, double l. at end of R., followed on Lo. E. by a numeral indicating the number of ll. On L. E. inscription in 4 cols., with number of ll. in col. IV. $7^5 \times 11^5 \times 3$ . Inscription, 25(O.) + 1 (Lo. E.) + 27 (R.) + 3 (L. E., col. I) + 2 (col. II) + 1 (col. III) + 1 (col. IV) = 60 ll. Originally, however, this tablet contained 37 ll. on O. + 38 ll. on R. = 75 ll. Numbering of ll. according to the original number of ll. "Tablet Hill", II Exp. This tablet contains two separate hymns. O. has a hymn in form of a dialogue between Ishtar ( <i>Ga-sha-an-tin-dib-ba</i> ) and Dumuzi ( <i><sup>d</sup>Da-mu, fu-mu Ū-mu-un-mu(sh)-zi-da</i> ), see above, p. 45. R. contains a hymn in which Ishtar (under her several names) bewails her various temples. For her names and those of her temples cf. <i>R. H.</i> , p. 88, Obv.; p. 89, Rev.; p. 93, Obv.; p. 94, Obv., etc.; and for l. 75, see above, p. 45, note 4.
3	5,6	2358	Greatly mutilated, baked tablet. Nearly all signs are either chipped off or withered away. Ruled. Lower part of R. not inscribed. $7^5 \times 13 \times 3^3$ . Inscription, 30 (O.) + 26 (R.) = 56 ll. "Tablet Hill", I Exp. Photographic reproduction, pls. I, II, nos. 1, 2. Hymn of <i><sup>d</sup>Be-li-li</i> , the sister of Dumuzi. The <i>mu</i> in <i>gír-mu</i> , l. 17, is clearly visible, but it has been corrected by the scribe to <i>ni</i> , cf. l. 51. ll. 4—17 = 38—51.

TEXT.	PLATE.	C. B. M.	DESCRIPTION.
4	7,8	10465	<p>Baked clay tablet, ruled, cracked. O. darker, with occasional black spots, R. lighter. Last l. of R. separated from the rest by a double line. Lower part of R. not inscribed. <math>7^4 \times 13^8 \times 3</math>. Inscription, 32 (O.) + 23 (R.) = 55 ll. "Tablet Hill", II Exp. Photographic reproduction, pls. III, IV, nos. 3, 4. At the R. E., opposite l. I of O., we find the signs , which in all probability have to be read <i>shù(g)-gi</i> (= <i>nazāzu</i>), "to put up", indicating that this tablet was "deposited" or "put up" in the temple of Nippur. According to the subscription, this tablet purports to contain "the exorcisms, charms of Ishtar", <i>bal-bal-e</i> <sup>d</sup><i>Innanna-kam</i>. For <i>bal</i> = <i>shiptu</i>, see above, p. 60, note 2; cf. also l. I, <i>bal-e</i>. Though somewhat mutilated, the inscription of this tablet is capable of being restored in its entirety. The inscription consists of an introduction, the subject matter proper, based upon the expressions mentioned above, p. 60, note 1, and a conclusion with a subscription. Ll. 1ff. ought to be restored as follows:</p> <p><i>bal-e</i> <sup>sa</sup><i>legi</i>(<i>SAL-KU</i>)-<i>el-ni na-mu-e</i>  <sup>d</sup><i>Utu</i> <sup>sa</sup><i>legi</i>(<i>SAL-KU</i>)-<i>el-ni na-mu-e</i>  <i>in-nin gu-sar-ra</i> <i>HI-LI</i>(<i>shar-gūb</i>) <i>gūr-ru</i>, etc.</p> <p>"Exorcism!" To his glorious princess (sister), to her he spoke,  "Shamash, to his glorious princess (sister), to her he spoke:  "'Mistress, 'weaver of cords', full of (radiant with) grace", etc.</p> <p>Ll. 46—48 are especially important, seeing that they furnish some new names for Dumuzi, viz.:</p> <p><i>Ku-li</i> <sup>d</sup><i>En-lil-lá</i>, "friend of Enlil"; cf. Pinches, <i>Manch.</i> V: 12/3, where Dumuzi appears as the <i>Ū-mu-un gu-li A-na</i>, "lord, friend of An", and as the <i>Gu-li</i> <sup>d</sup><i>Mu-ul-lil</i>, "friend of Enlil";</p> <p><i>Shā-zi-ta-è-a</i>, l. 47, which is given in <i>Manch.</i> V: 14, as <i>Sha(!)-zi-da-é(!)-a</i>, "he who goes out of (i. e., is born by) the pure heart (sc. of An)", cf. the <i>sūb-ba</i> <sup>d</sup><i>Dumu-zi-dé shā-azag-ga-na An-nim</i> of <i>C. T.</i>, XV, 28: 6 = 29: 6 (here parallel with <i>ū-mu-un ibi-lá</i> of ll. 7, 14/5, for which see above, p. 27, note 9;)</p> <p><i>A-bara(g)-ga-ri-a</i> appears in <i>Manch.</i> V: 15, as <i>Ē-pa-ra-ga-ri-a</i> = <i>sha riḫūt parakki (sharri) riḫū</i>, "he who is born by the seed of him who inhabits a palace", i. e., "the son of a king", "the prince". For this interchange of <i>a</i>, <i>e</i>, <i>é</i>, see above, p. 57, note 5.</p>
5	9	11326	<p>Middle lower part of an originally large tablet, having at least 3 cols. on O. and R. O. lighter, R. darker, with occasional black spots. Baked, ruled. Tablet has Professor Harper's registration mark: Ni. 30—2—19—89. <math>12 \times 8 \times 3^8</math>. Inscription, 9 (O., col. I) + 12 (O., col. II) + 4 (O., col. III) + 3 (R., col. I) + 13 (R., col. II) + 9 (R., col. III) = 50 ll. "Tablet Hill", I Exp. Very important tablet on account of its syllabic writing. O. contains Ishtar's complaint over the destruction of her cities and temples, cf. O., col. II: ff., <i>ū-ru-mu i-me a</i> [<i>ū-ru-mu i-me</i>], <i>E(!)-zi ba-gu-ul-gu-ul</i>, etc. For O., col. II: 7ff., see above, p. 35, note 2. In R., col. II, Ishtar bewails Dumuzi, her husband, who "lives (dwells) no more" (<i>nu-ti-il</i>).</p>
6	10,11	11330	<p>Upper left hand part of a larger tablet, having originally at least 2 cols. on O. and R. Brown, baked, ruled. Script somewhat mutilated. At end of R., col. IV, a double line. <math>7 \times 10 \times 3^3</math>. Inscription, 16 (O., col. I) + 9 (O., col. II) + 12 (R., col. III) + 14 (R., col. IV) = 51 ll. "Tablet Hill", I Exp. Photographic reproduction in <i>H. A. V.</i>, pl. XV, nos. 21, 22. For translation of O., col. I: 1—14, see above pp. 35ff.</p>
7	12	10084	<p>Upper left hand part of an originally rather large tablet, with at least 2—3 cols. on O. and R. Light brown, ruled, half baked. Script small and somewhat effaced. At end of R., col. I, a double line. Last col. of R. not inscribed. <math>5^3 \times 6^8 \times 2^5</math>. Inscription, 17 (O., col. I) + 5 (O., col. II) +</p>



TEXT.	PLATE.	C. B. M.	DESCRIPTION.
8	13, 14	11328	15 (R.) = 37 ll. "Tablet Hill", II Exp. Photographic reproduction in <i>H. A. V.</i> , pl. I, nos. 3, 4. For translation of O., col. I: 1—6, see above, p. 35. Lower right hand part of an originally rather large tablet consisting of 3 cols. on O. and R. O. light, R. dark, with occasional black spots. Cracked. End of ll. on O. and R., col. IV, broken away. Ruled, heavy ll. mark off the end and beginning of the several hymns. $11^5 \times 10 \times 4$ . Inscription, 17 (O., col. II) + 15 (O., col. III) + 17 (R., col. IV) + 20 (R., col. V) + 5 (R., col. VI) = 74 ll. "Tablet Hill", I Exp. Ishtar in the netheworld demanding of the gate-opener admission to the <i>Ē-kur</i> . The contents of this tablet are similar to <i>R. H.</i> , pp. 75ff. (no. 43); pp. 77ff. (no. 44); cf., e. g., col. V: 3ff. with <i>R. H.</i> , p. 75: 13ff. To the same series of texts belong also C.B.M. 2214 + 2284, which begin with <i>ni-dū é-[gál-lu...]</i> , <i>ᵈKAL-KAL é-gál-[lu...]</i> , cf. col. V: 9, 10. Unfortunately I was not able to copy these two tablets, yet with the help of a transcription hastily made, I am able to restore <i>R. H.</i> , p. 76 almost completely. If time permits, I may publish in the near future a translation of this group of tablets.
9	15, 16	11151	Half baked clay tablet, crumbling, cracked, glued together, greatly mutilated. Light, ruled. 2 cols. on O. and R. Double line at end of R. col. IV, the lower part of which is not inscribed. Tablet has Professor Harper's registration mark: Ni. 22—2—16 (or 10)—89. $9 \times 16 \times 3^3$ . Inscription, 29 (O., col. I) + 25 (O., col. II) + 25 (R., col. III) + 17 (R., col. IV) = 95 ll. "Tablet Hill", I Exp. Photographic reproduction, pls. V, VI, nos. 5, 6. Ishtar. <sup>d</sup> <i>Nin-si-an-na</i> bewails in the two hymns of this tablet the destruction of her temples and harems and the absence of her husband Dumuzi. Notice the peculiar writing in col. III: 8, <i>mu(sh)-ka-na-7-bi na-mu-un-na-al</i> , followed by <i>mu(sh)-du-ru azag shu-a na-mu-un-m[a-al]</i> . For col. II: 18ff., see above, p. 42.
10	17	2227	Upper part of baked tablet, ruled. O. darker, R. lighter. L. at end of R., the lower part of which is not inscribed. $7^5 \times 5^8 \times 3^2$ . Inscription, 11 (O.) + 3 (R.) = 14 ll. "Tablet Hill", I Exp. Photographic reproduction, pl. VII, nos. 7, 8. Ishtar bewails the miserable condition and solitude of her houses, temples and harems.
11	18	10085	Middle part, so it seems, of an unfinished hymn. Light brown, ruled. Lower part of col. I, the whole of col. II and all of R. not inscribed. $7^5 \times 11^5 \times 3$ . Inscription, 7 ll. "Tablet Hill", II Exp. Ishtar bewails her and Dumuzi's utter destruction ( <i>gil-li-em</i> ).
12	19	475	Kh. Collection. Upper left hand part of an originally very large tablet, containing at least 2 cols. on O. Baked, ruled, cracked. Terra cotta. R. not inscribed. Script large and clear. $9^3 \times 15^5 \times 4^5$ . Inscription, 29 (O., col. I) + 21 (O., col. II) = 50 ll. Photographic reproduction, pl. VIII, no. 9. This tablet contains a duplicate inscription of the so-called "lament of 'the daughter of Sin'", published by Pinches in <i>P. S. B. A.</i> , Febr., 1895: K. 41, col. I: 3—15 = <i>R. H.</i> , p. 60, Obv., 7—Rev., 21. That this tablet really does belong to the series of the "Sumerian lanten hymns" is evident from the occurrence of the names of Dumuzi: <i>Ama-ushumgal-an-na</i> and [ <i>Ú</i> ]- <i>mu-un A-ra-[li]</i> , ll. 28/9. For ll. 2ff. see p. 43, and for ll. 21/2, above, p. 60, note 2. Notice also the remarkable Semitic liturgical note in l. 24 and cf. above, p. 16.
13	20	1781	Kh. Collection. Lower right hand part of an originally rather large tablet, with at least 2 cols. on O. and R. Half baked, dark, crumbling, glued together, ruled. The several hymns are marked off either by a single line with numeral giving number of ll., or by a double line. Script clear. $2^8 \times 6 \times 10$ . Inscription, 15 (O.) + 17 (R.) = 32 ll. Photographic reproduction, pl. IX, nos. 10, 11. Ishtar bewails Dumuzi.

## B. PHOTOGRAPHIC (HALFTONE) REPRODUCTIONS.

HALFTONE. PLATE. DESCRIPTION. C. B. M.

SEE TEXT  
NO.:

1,2	I,II	3	2358	O. and R. a hymn in which <i>dBe-li-li</i> , the sister of Dumuzi, bewails the miserable fate brought upon her by the wicked enemy.
3,4	III,IV	4	10465	O. and R. of tablet containing exorcisms or charms of Ishtar.
5,6	V,VI	9	11151	O. and R. of tablet containing two hymns in which Ishtar- <i>dNin-si-an-na</i> bewails the destruction of her temples and harems and the absence of her husband and son Dumuzi.
7,8	VII	10	2227	O. and R. of tablet containing hymn in which Ishtar bewails the miserable condition and solitude of her several houses, temples and harems.
9	VIII	12	475	Ishtar bewails the solitude, desolation and destruction of her temples. (Kh. Collection).
10,11	IX	13	1781	O. and R. of tablet containing hymn in which Ishtar bewails her beloved Dumuzi. (Kh. Collection).

## C. NUMBERS OF THE CATALOGUE OF THE BABYLONIAN MUSEUM.

(PREPARED BY PROFESSOR H. V. HILPRECHT.)

C. B. M.	TEXT.	PLATE.	C. B. M.	TEXT.	PLATE.	C. B. M.	TEXT.	PLATE.
475	12	19	10084	7	12	11326	5	9
1781	13	20	10085	11	18	11328	8	13,14
2227	10	17	10465	4	7,8	11330	6	10,11
2358	3	5,6	11151	9	15,16	11393	1	1,2
3656	2	3,4						

# CUNEIFORM TEXTS



1

Obverse.

Col. I.

Col. II.





1

Reverse.

Col. IV.

Col. III.

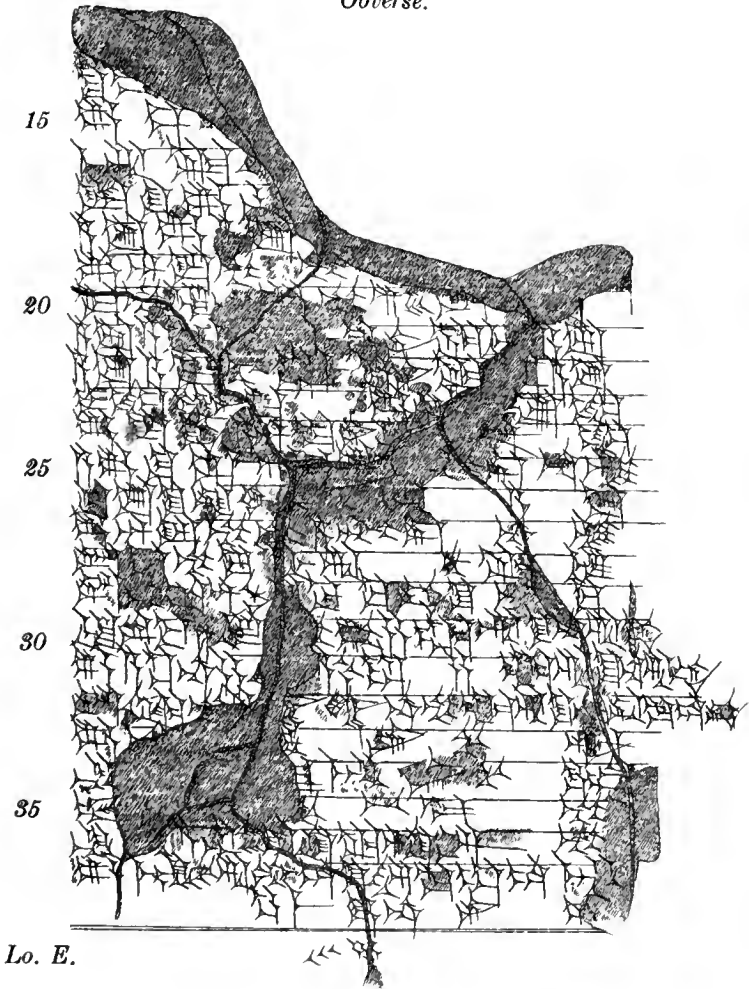






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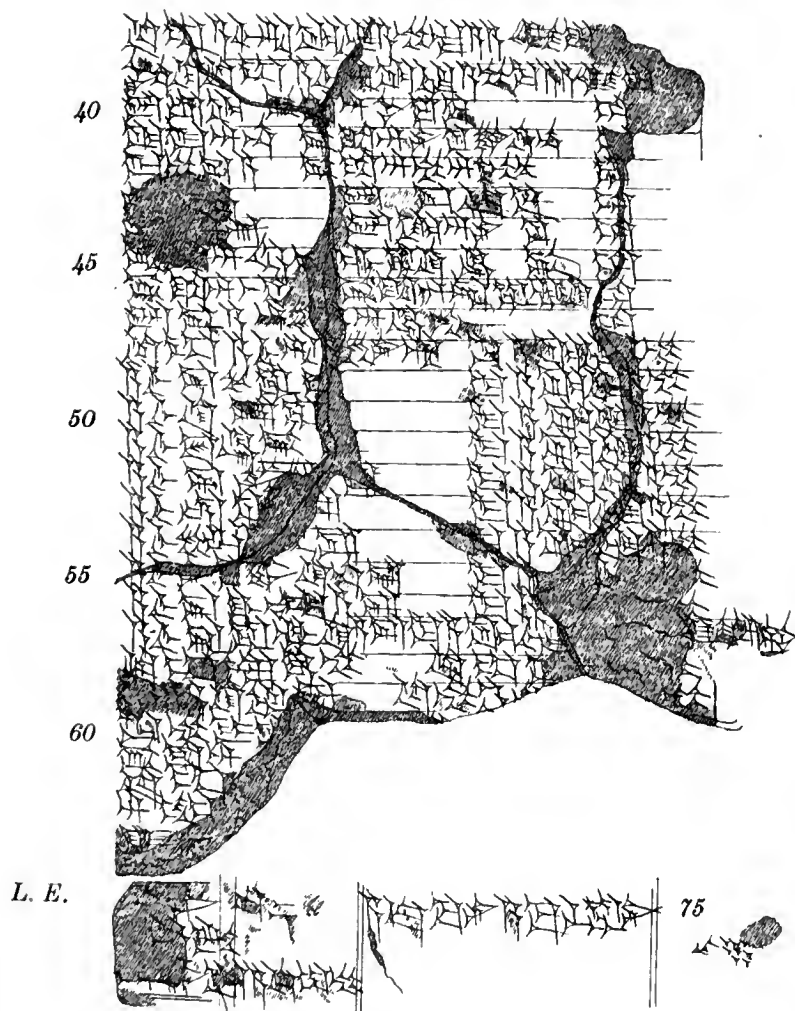
Obverse.





2

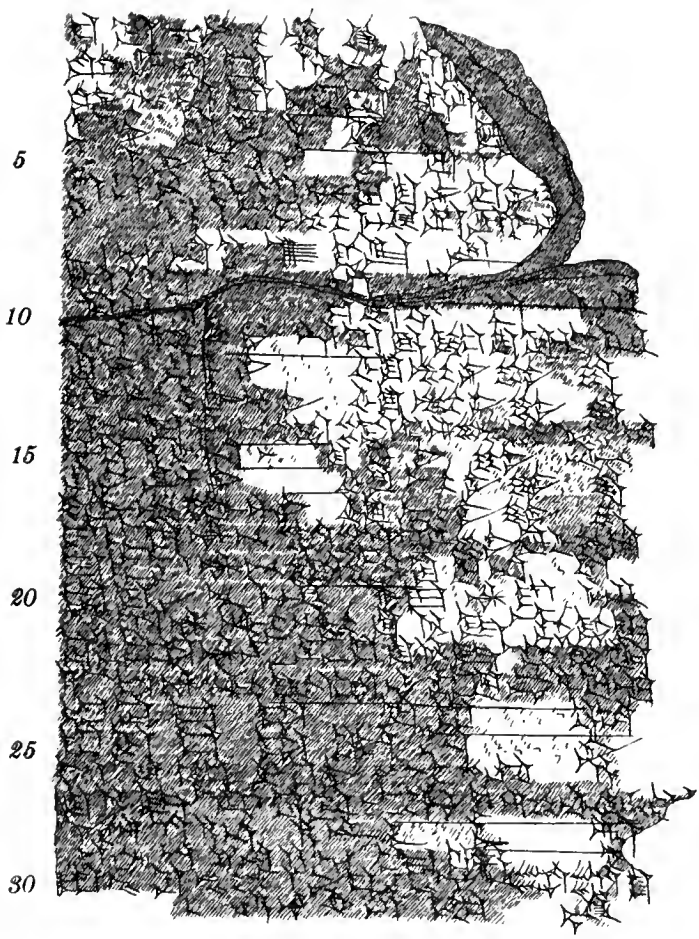
*Reverse.*





3

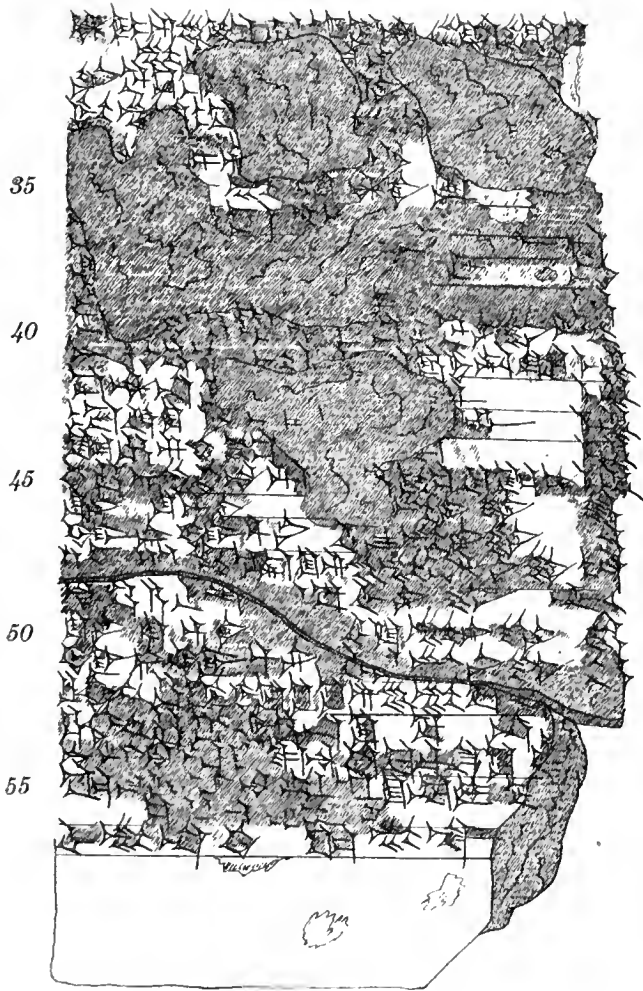
Obverse.





3

Reverse.

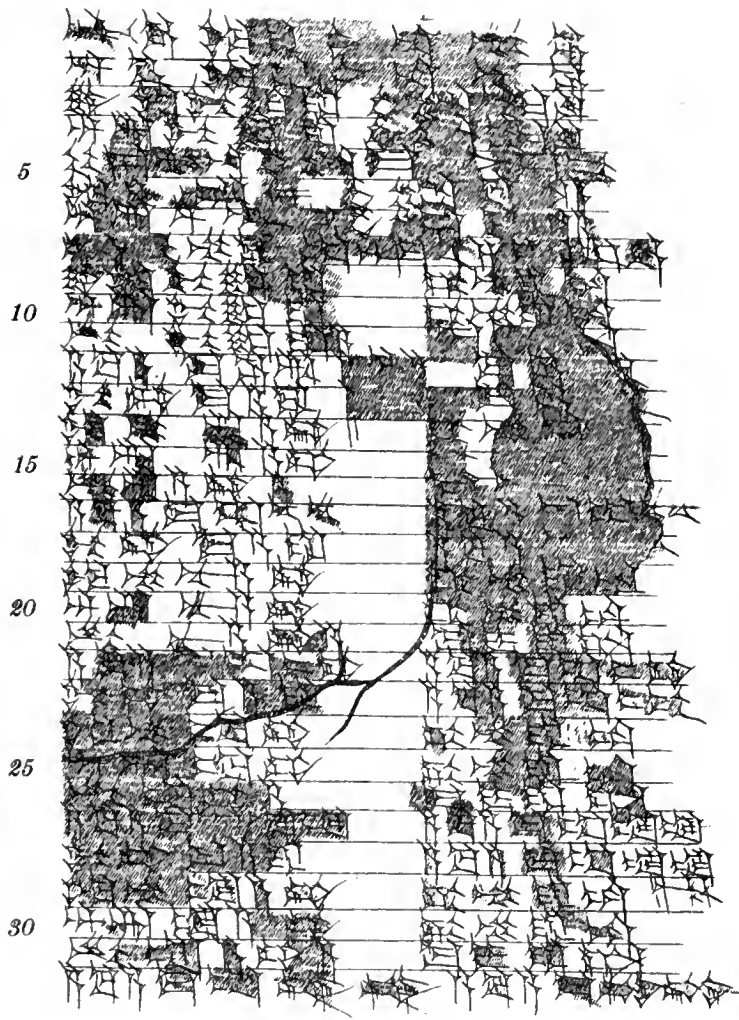






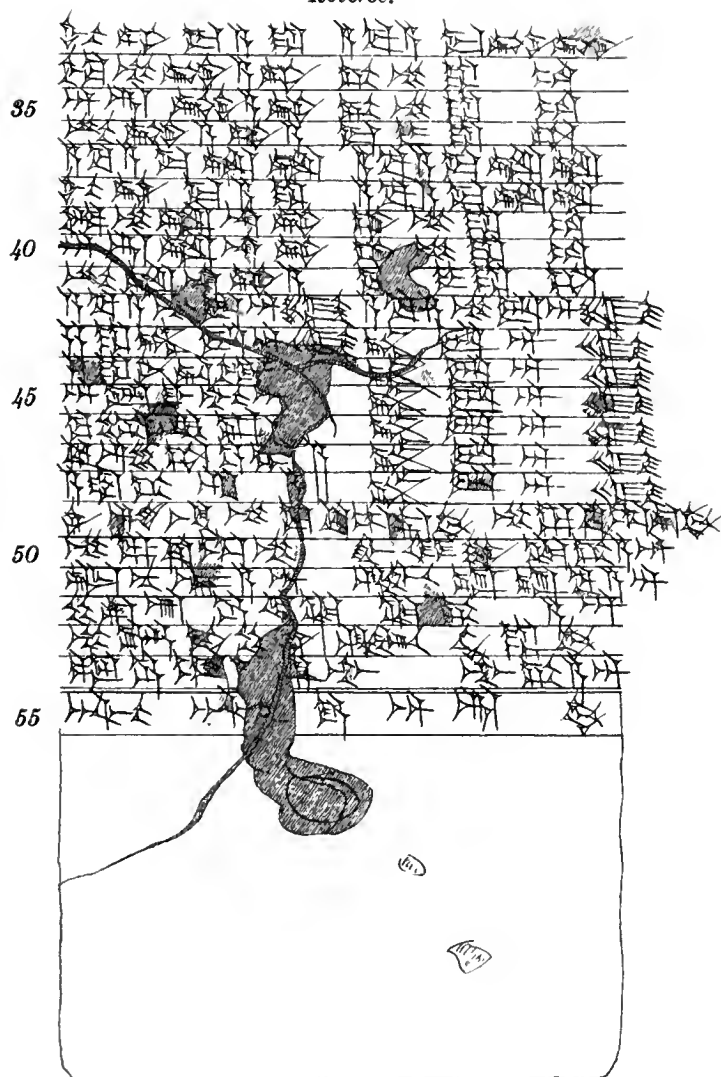
4

*Obverse.*





*Reverse.*





5

Obverse.



Reverse.



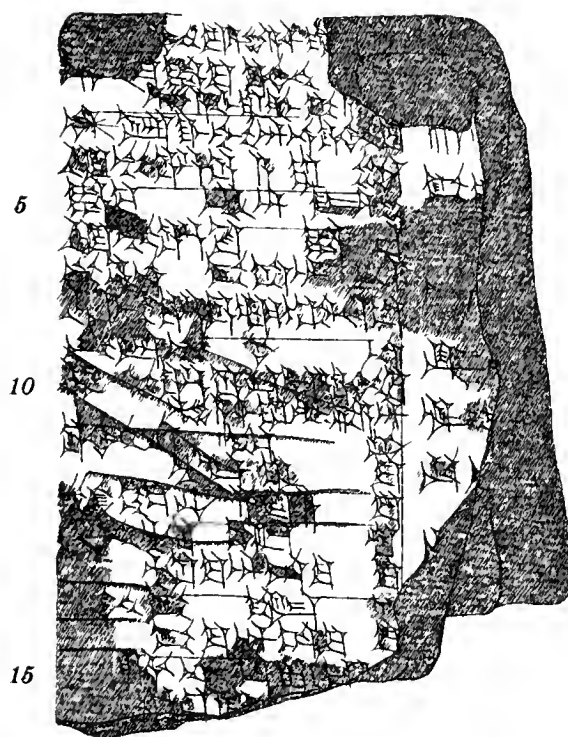


6

*Obverse.*

*Col. I.*

*Col. II.*





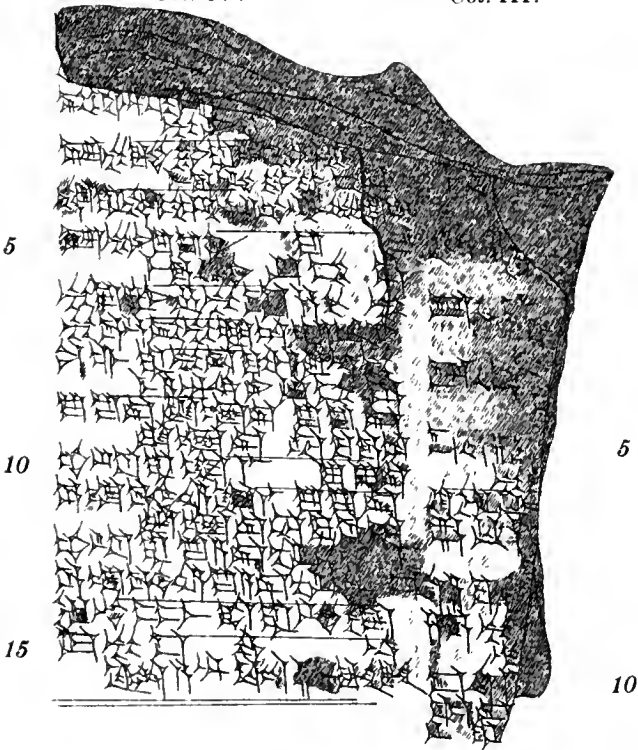


6

Reverse.

Col. IV.

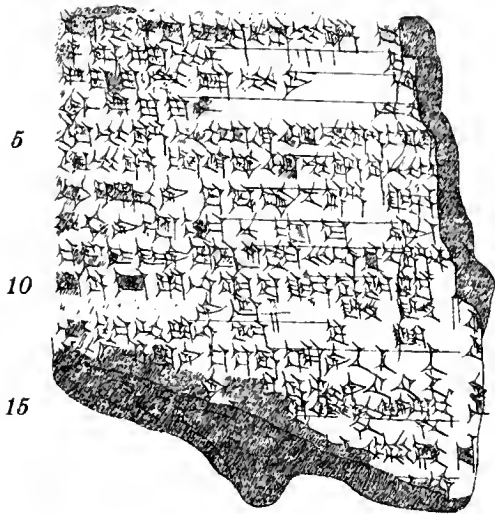
Col. III.



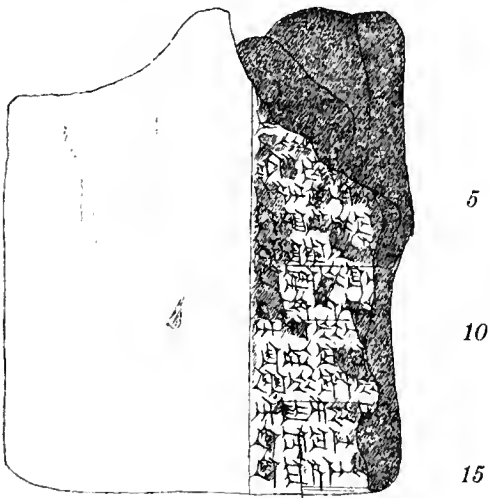


7

*Obverse.*



*Reverse.*





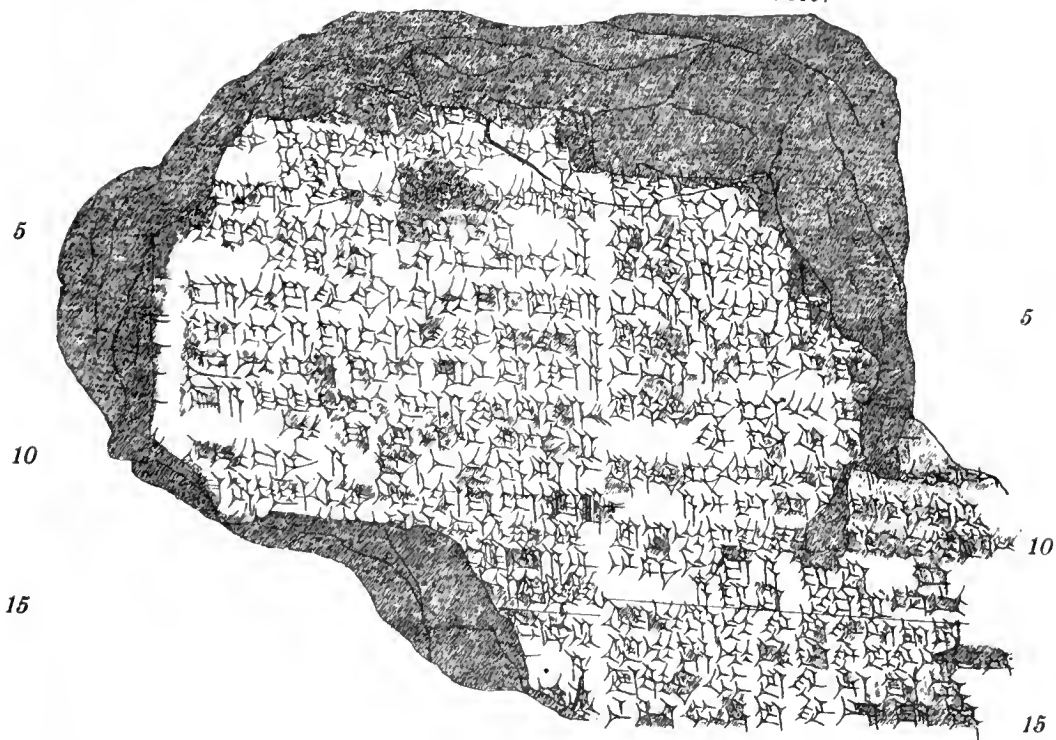
8

Obverse.

Col. I

Col. II.

Col. III.





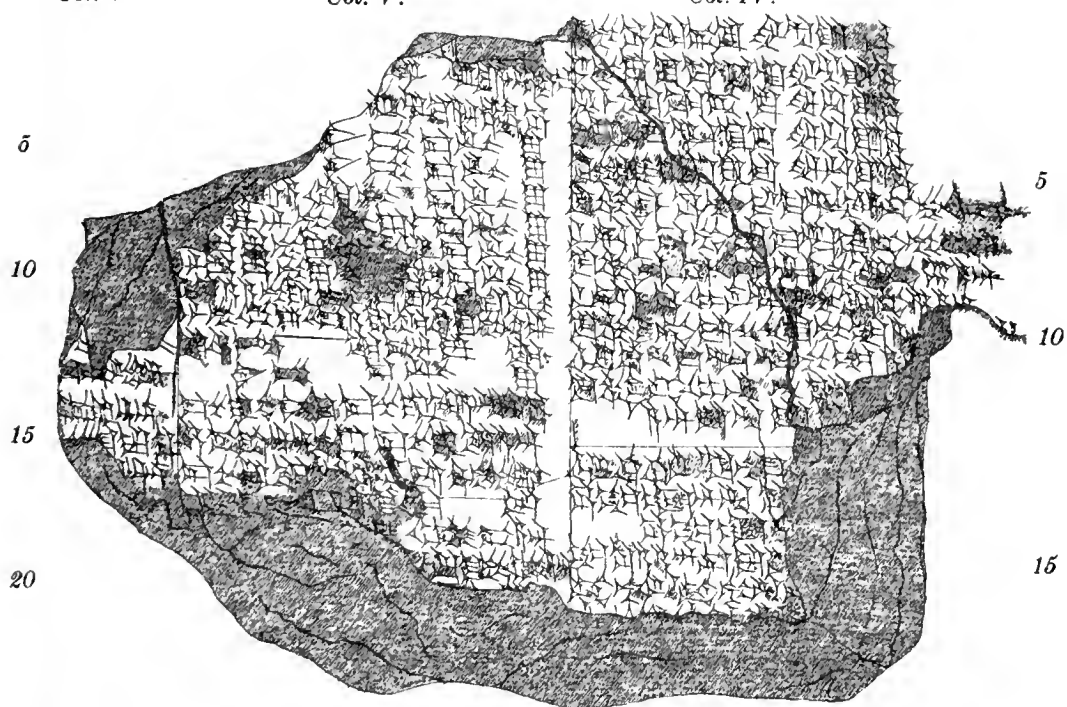
8

Reverse.

Col. VI.

Col. V.

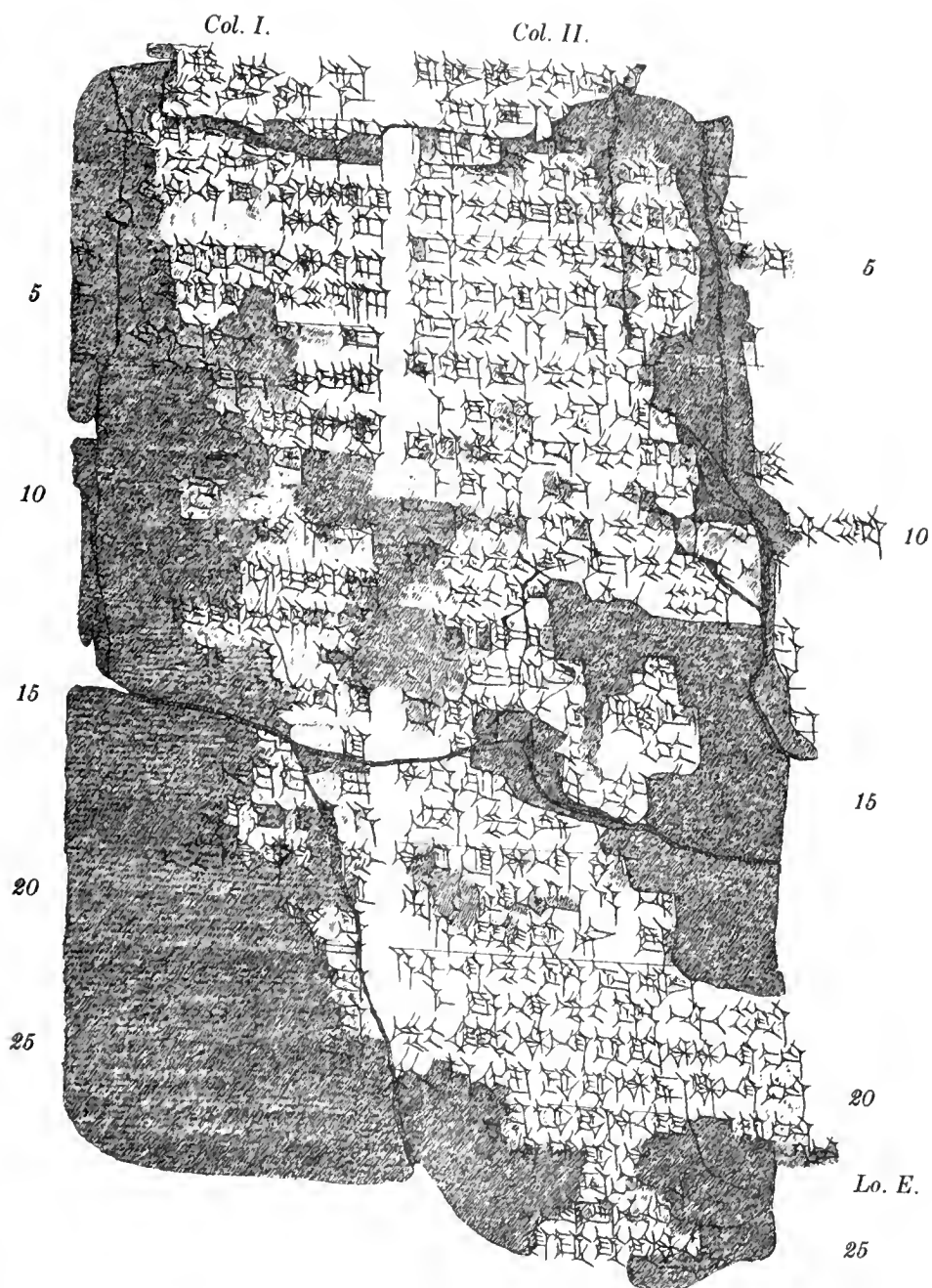
Col. IV.







Obverse.

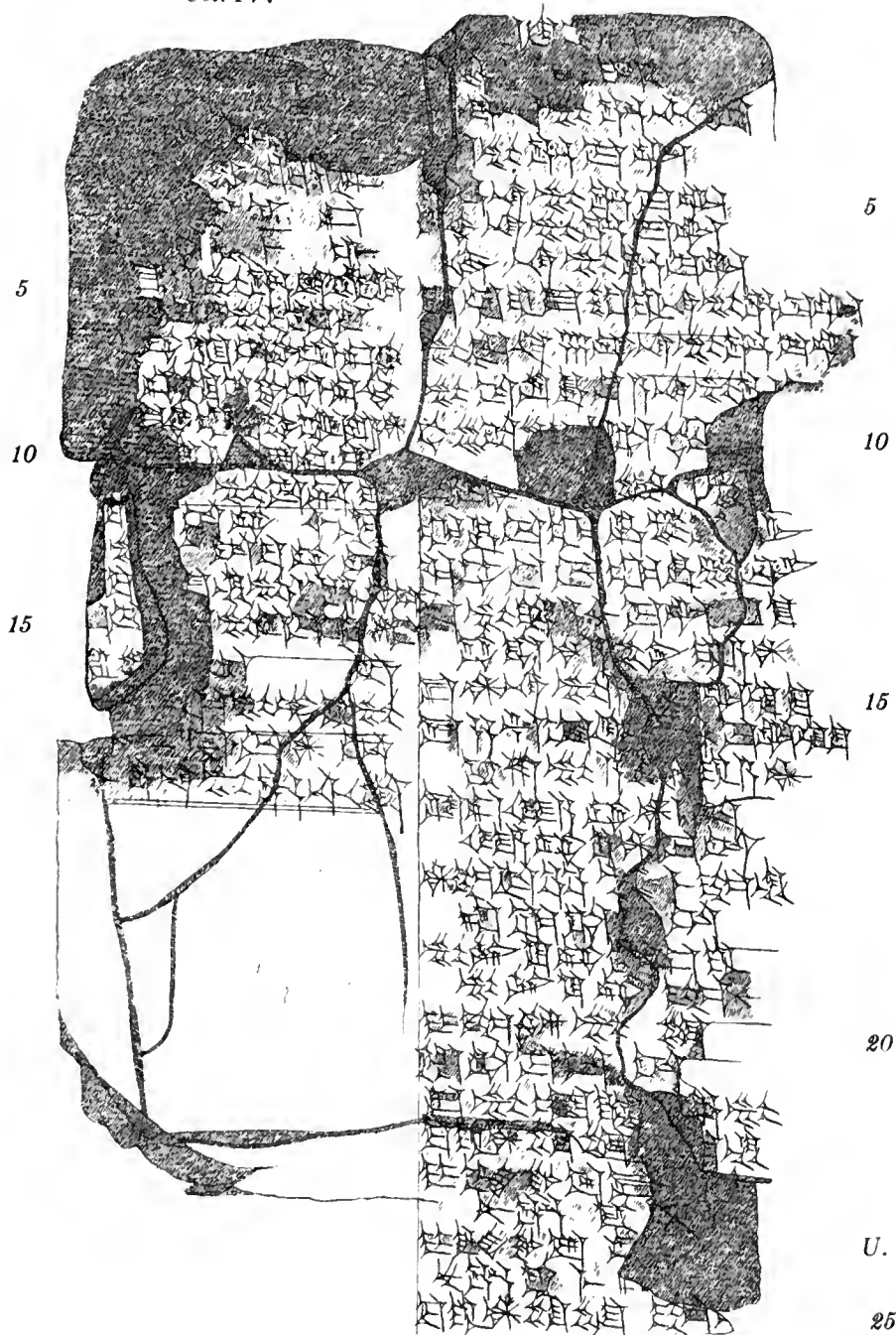




Reverse.

Col. IV.

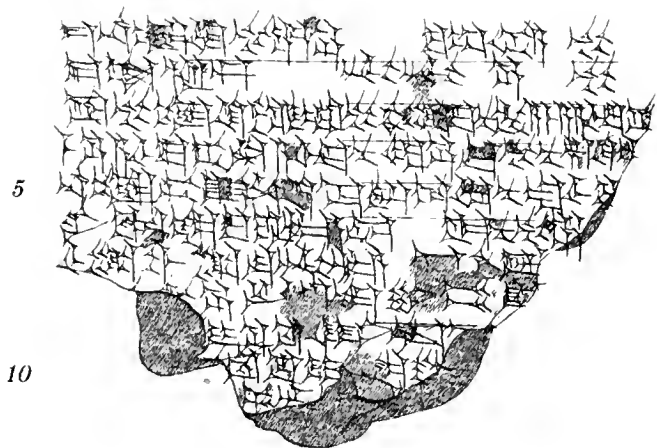
Col. III.



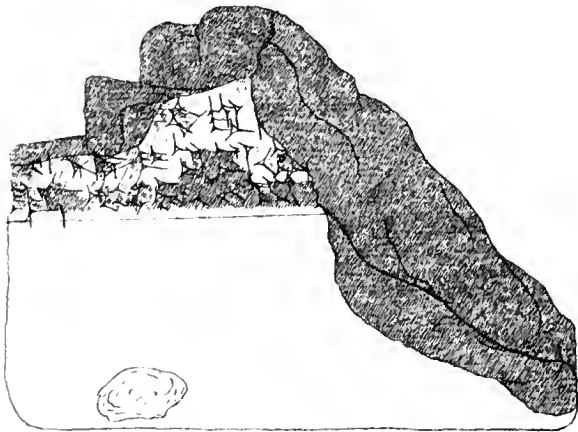


10

*Obverse.*



*Reverse.*





11

Obverse:







12

Obverse.



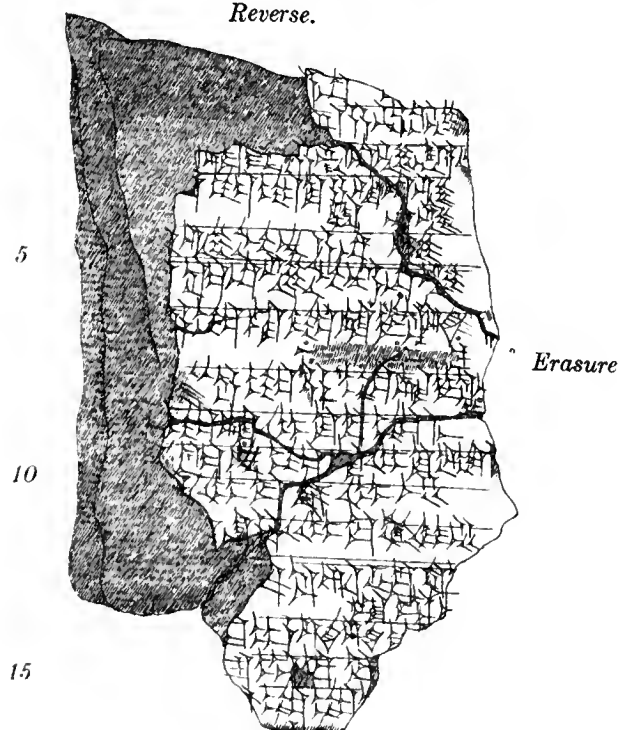


13

*Obverse.*



*Reverse.*







1

*Obverse of Autograph Text No. 3  
Belili, the sister of Dumuzi, wails over the fate  
brought upon her by the wicked enemy*





*Reverse of Autograph Text No. 3  
Belili, the sister of Dumuzi, wails over the fate  
brought upon her by the wicked enemy*







*Obverse of Autograph Text No. 4  
The "charms" wrought by Innanna-Ishtar*

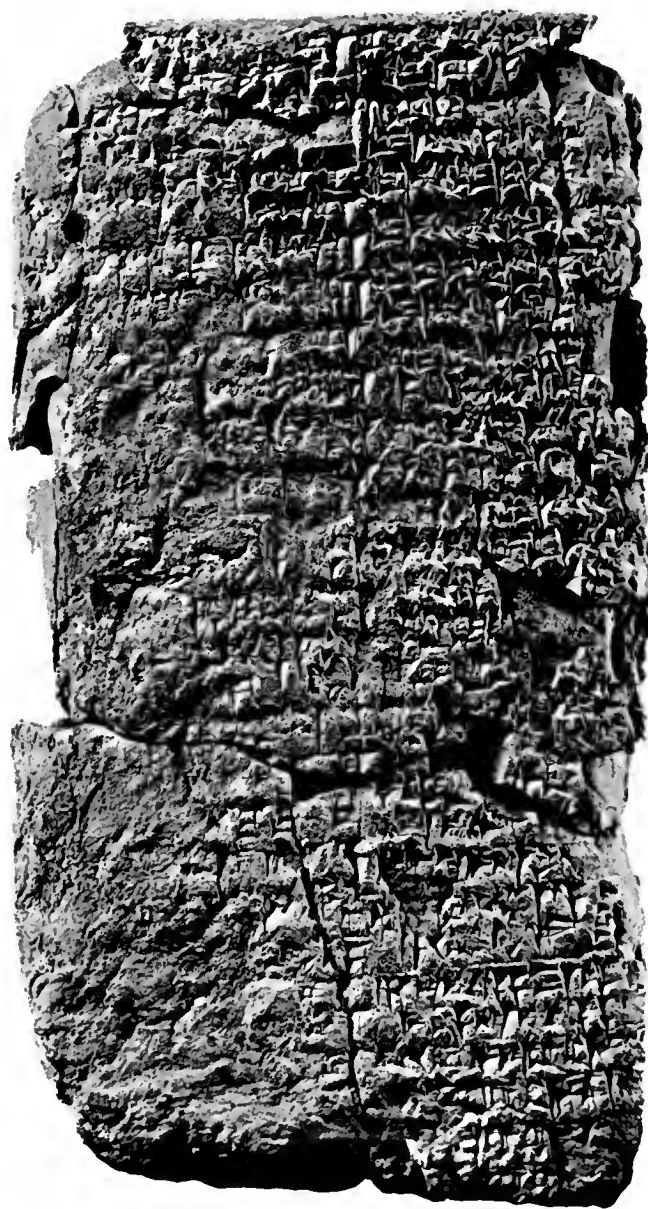




4

*Reverse of Autograph Text No. 4  
The "charms" wrought by Innanna-Ishtar*





5

*Obverse of Autograph Text No. 9*  
*Innanna-Ishtar bewails Dumuzi, her absent husband and son*



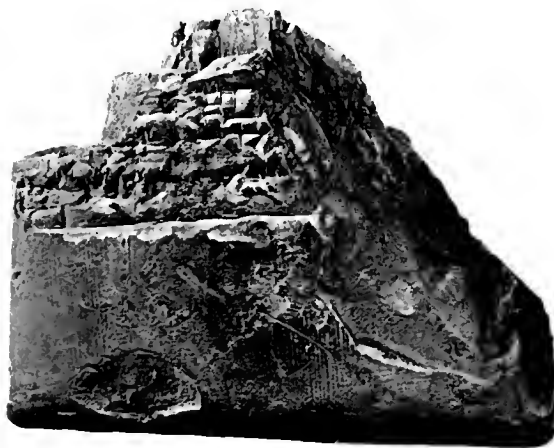








7



8

*Obverse (7) and Reverse (8) of Autograph Text No. 10  
Innanna-Ishtar bewails, on account of the absence of her beloved,  
the solitude of her houses, temples and harems*





*Obverse of Autograph Text No. 12  
Innanna-Ishtar bewails the solitude and desolation of her temples  
From the Kh. Collection  
Duplicate of R. H., p. 60:7 ff and K. 41, col. 1:3 ff*





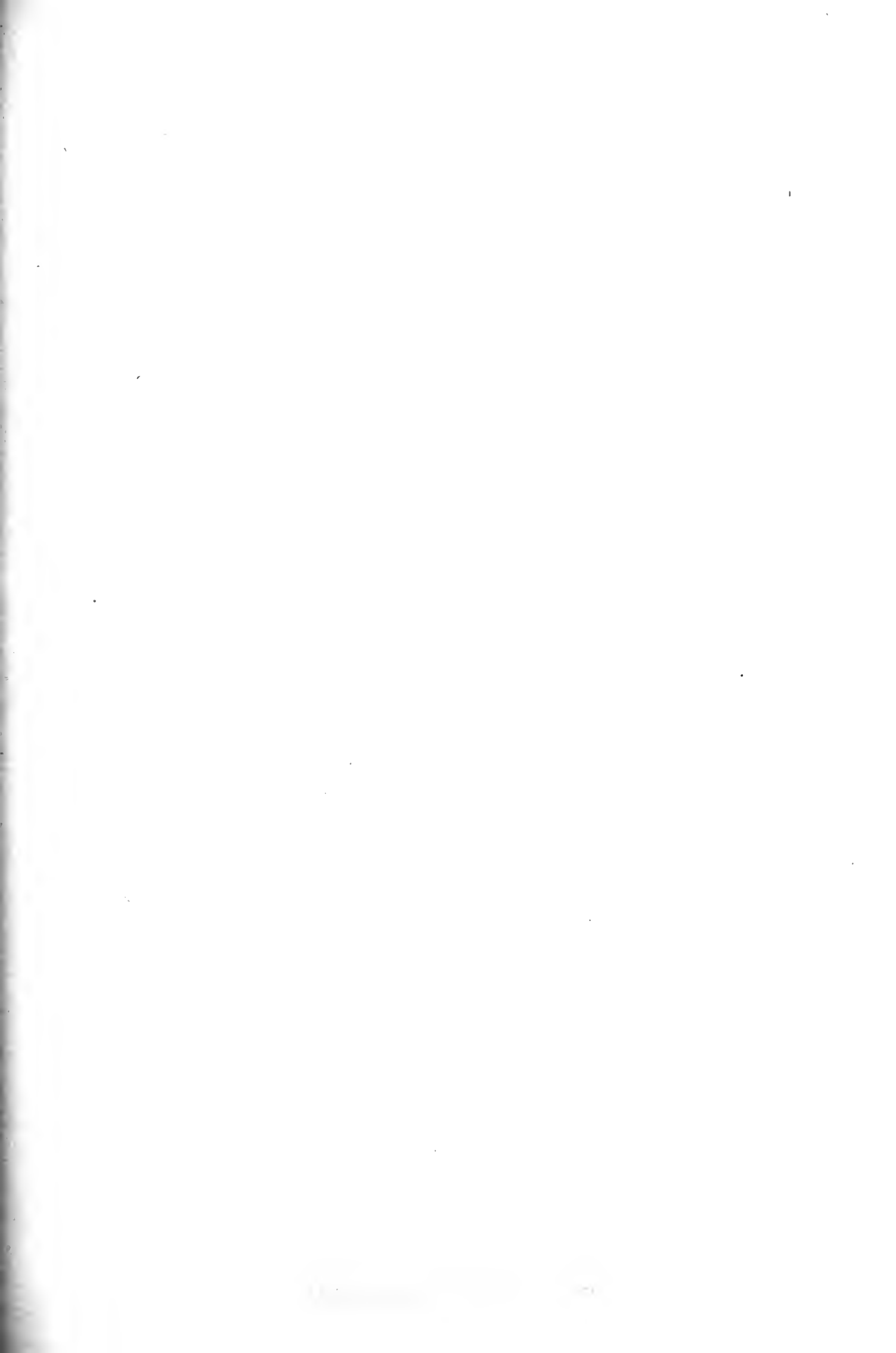
10



11

*Obverse (10) and Reverse (11) of Autograph Text No. 13  
Innanna-Ishtar bewails the absence of her beloved, Dumuzi  
From the Kh. Collection*





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